

DECLINE AND FALL
OF BYZANTIUM
TO THE OTTOMAN TURKS

BY DOUKAS

*An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina"
by Harry J. Magoulias, Wayne State University*

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*To
Ariadne*

*σύννευος
καλή τε
κάγαθή*

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CHAPTER XIV

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CHAPTER XV

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CHAPTER XVI

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CHAPTER XVII

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CHAPTER XVIII

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Manuel II returns to Constantinople (9 June 1403); banishes John VII to Lemnos. Bayazid's son Sulayman seeks the support of Manuel. John VII enters Thessaloniki as emperor of Thessaly (before November 1403). Turkish opponents of the Ottomans resume control of their principalities with Temir-khan's support. Juneid takes Smyrna (1403) and Ephesus, becomes emir of Aydin, and allies himself with Sulayman, Mehmed's brother, in Thrace. Sulayman comes to Prusa and launches a campaign against Juneid. Germiyanids and Karamanids retreat from Ephesus leaving that city to Sulayman.

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CHAPTER XIX

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Sulayman orders the Genoese Salgruzo de Negro to construct a fortress opposite Gallipoli. Sulayman crosses to Gallipoli. Musa proclaims himself ruler of Thrace, Thessaly, and Illyricum. Sulayman installs Juneid as governor of Ochrid. Sulayman goes to Adrianople; dispatches an army against Musa, which is defeated near Sofia. Musa overruns Serbia and massacres the Christians; lays siege to Thessaloniki and Constantinople. Manuel II negotiates with Mehmed and offers aid against his brother Musa. Mehmed defeats his brother Musa.

CHAPTER XX

page 111

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CHAPTER XXI

page 115

The Karaman oğlu plunders Prusa, exhumes and burns Bayazid's bones. Mehmed demands that Juneid surrender his province. Mehmed comes to Smyrna; the governors of New and Old Phokaia, the Germiyan and Mentеше emirs, the lords of Lesbos and Chios, and the grand master of Rhodes do him obeisance. Smyrna falls to Mehmed; he razes the tower being built by the Knights Hospitalers at the mouth of the harbor. Juneid pledges his allegiance to Mehmed. The Venetians sink Mehmed's fleet off Gallipoli (May 1416). Mehmed installs Juneid as governor of Nikopolis. The socio-religious revolt of Bürklüdje Mustafa is launched (1416), claiming equal validity for both Islam and Christianity. Bürklüdje Mustafa defeated by the forces of Mehmed's son Murad.

CHAPTER XXII

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that they will be placed under guard. Mehmed sends an army into Vlachia in retaliation for their support of Mustafa. Mehmed I dies of apoplexy (21 May 1421) in Adrianople and his son Murad II succeeds him (1421-1451).

CHAPTER XXIII

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CHAPTER XXIV

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CHAPTER XXV

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CHAPTER XXVI

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Juneid persuaded by his brother Hamza to desert to Murad. Juneid goes to Smyrna and slays Mustafa of Aydin and is proclaimed ruler of the province.

CHAPTER XXVII

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Mustafa's troops desert and he flees to Gallipoli. Murad takes Gallipoli. Mustafa flees to Vlachia. Murad acclaimed in Adrianople. Mustafa captured near the Danube and hanged in Adrianople.

CHAPTER XXVIII

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Manuel II dispatches envoys to Murad to mollify the sultan but in vain (8 June 1422). Manuel II contrives to support

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Mehmed's surviving son, Mustafa, against Murad. Murad abandons siege of Constantinople (6 September 1422). Manuel suffers paralytic stroke (October 1422). Marching on Nicaea, Murad strangles six-year-old Mustafa (1423). Murad blockades Thessaloniki, ravages Zetounion (Lamia) and environs, and suffers setbacks by the governor of Zetounion (1425). Murad dispatches Halil with army to wage war on Juneid. Juneid retreats to the fortress of Hypsele, surrenders, and is killed (1425).

CHAPTER XXIX

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John VIII Palaiologos negotiates treaty with Murad surrendering the Byzantine lands along the Black Sea and pledging annual tribute (1424). Thessaloniki ceded to the Venetians by Despot Andronikos (14 September 1423). Murad demands surrender of Thessaloniki and takes the city (29 March 1430). Danos II, voivode of Vlachia, sues for peace with Murad and agrees to pay annual tribute. Dracul kills Danos II in battle and becomes voivode (1431). Dracul arrives in Prusa and submits to Murad. Murad invades Karaman territories (1444).

CHAPTER XXX

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CHAPTER XXXI

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CHAPTER XXXII

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János Hunyadi and George Branković, with the support

of Hungary, lead army of 25,000 against the Turks (1443). They take Sofia. Murad restores Smederovo and other cities to George Branković. Turkish emissaries arrive in Hungary to negotiate a peace treaty. Murad II takes Ikonion and Laranda (Karaman) and returns to Thrace. Murad II is informed that peace treaty has been violated and the Hungarians and Vlachs have crossed the Danube. At Varna (10 November 1444) the king of Hungary (Vladislav III) is slain, and the Turks cut down the Christians. Victorious, Murad II abdicates and resides in Magnesia (December 1444 or January 1445). On Halil's appeal Murad II returns as sultan and his son Mehmed II is sent to Magnesia to govern (August 1446). Murad II is victorious over Hunyadi and his Hungarian forces and allies at Kossovo (17-19 October 1448). Murad II defeats Constantine Palaiologos at the Hexamilion, destroys the walls, and takes 60,000 captives (10 December 1446).

CHAPTER XXXIII

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John VIII Palaiologos dies (31 October 1448); succeeded by his brother Constantine XI Palaiologos who arrives in Constantinople (12 March 1449). Murad II dies (2 February 1451) and is succeeded by Mehmed II. Mehmed II orders death of his half-brother. Emperor Constantine XI dispatches ambassadors to make peace with Mehmed II.

CHAPTER XXXIV

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Mehmed II concludes three years' peace with János Hunyadi (20 September 1451). Mehmed II breaks treaty with Byzantium and cuts off revenues awarded the emperor. Mehmed II orders the construction of the fortress Baš-kesen (Rumeli Hisar, 15 April-31 August 1452) on European side of the straits. Greek farmers, protecting their crops, massacred by Turks. Constantine XI arrests all Turks in the capital, then releases them. Mehmed II declares war (June 1452). Cannon are placed at the new fortress and Mehmed II orders all ships refusing to pay customs duties sunk. Sultan returns to Adrianople.

CHAPTER XXXV

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A Hungarian cannon-founder offers his services to

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emperor but Constantine XI unable to pay his wages; he enters service of Mehmed II and casts a monstrous cannon in three months (January 1453). A Venetian ship commanded by Antonio Rizzo fails to lower sails and is sunk by cannon ball (November 1452). At Didymoteichos the sultan decapitates the surviving crew members and has Rizzo impaled. Mehmed II returns to Adrianople in January (1453) and tests Urban's cannon. Sultan obsessed with desire to capture Constantinople; spends sleepless nights planning attack.

CHAPTER XXXVI

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CHAPTER XXXVII

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In February and March (1453) the monstrous cannon is hauled from Adrianople to a spot five miles from Constantinople. Religious dissension within the capital because of the Liturgy of Union. Hagia Sophia is shunned. In March Mehmed II starts to mobilize troops for siege of Constantinople. On Friday after Easter (6 April 1453) Mehmed II's forces are deployed outside the walls of Constantinople and the siege begins.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

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Emperor Constantine XI and the Genoese of Galata prepare the capital's defenses. Giovanni Longo Giustiniani arrives from Genoa with two ships and troops (29 January 1453) to defend the walls near palace. Five supply ships run blockade and enter the Golden Horn. Eighty ships transported on wheeled cradles over tramway behind Galata into the Golden Horn (22 April 1453). Urban's cannon opposite wall near the Gate of St. Romanos. Tower of St. Romanos and adjacent walls demolished. Giustiniani prepares fireship to destroy sultan's ships, but the Genoese of Galata inform the Turks who sink the trireme with cannon shot; 150 troops lost. Turks sink a Genoese

merchant ship ready to sail for Italy (5 May 1453). Mehmed II orders the construction of a pontoon bridge, made of wine casks, across the harbor.

CHAPTER XXXIX

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Mehmed II's final appeal to Constantine XI to surrender City. Preparations made for final assault. The hidden sally-port called Kerkopoorta opened at command of emperor. Assault begins early on Tuesday 29 May 1453. Giustiniani mortally wounded; abandons post with his troops. Fifty Turks gain entrance through the sally-port of Kerkopoorta and the enemy ascend walls. Greeks, attempting to reenter through Charisios Gate, routed and trampled to death. Emperor falls bravely fighting. Turks enter capital at dawn and slaughter 2000 soldiers. The citizenry rush to Hagia Sophia but the Turks break down the doors and round up the Christians to sell in slave markets. Sea walls scaled, dwellings plundered, old and infirm and infants slaughtered. Grand Duke Loukas Notaras and family seized. Many Latins escape by sea on five ships.

CHAPTER XL

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Mehmed II enters capital in afternoon and proceeds to Hagia Sophia. Mehmed II inquires about the emperor. Emperor's head recovered; stuffed and exhibited among Muslim princes. Sultan redeems all Byzantine nobles and officials who are found. The next day sultan visits grand duke. In drunken stupor Mehmed II demands Loukas Notaras's son brought to him to be despoiled. Grand duke refuses; in fit of anger Mehmed II orders the youth brought to him; Notaras, his son-in-law, and an older son beheaded. The redeemed Byzantine nobles and officials also executed.

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CHAPTER XLII

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Outside the walls troops sell their plunder of books and jewels and burn the icons. Walls of Galata demolished (3 June

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1453). Breached walls of Constantinople rebuilt in August. Five thousand families commanded to move into Constantinople from the provinces by September. Hagia Sophia becomes a mosque, and Mehmed II departs for Adrianople 18 June 1453. The Christian governors and rulers come to Adrianople with gifts to make obeisance. Mehmed II imposes annual tribute on Serbs, Greek despots of the Peloponnesos, Maona of Chios, Gattilusio lord of Lesbos, and Greek emperor of Trebizond. Sultan marches against despot of Serbia (Spring 1454). Hungarians defeat Mehmed II near Trnovo. Sultan leads second campaign with 20,000 troops; unable to take Smederovo. He sends 4000 men and women to populate towns outside Constantinople. Mehmed II goes to Constantinople and orders construction of palaces.

CHAPTER XLIII

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Ambassadors from Knights of St. John on Rhodes come to Adrianople to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mehmed II (1455). Sultan demands tribute but they refuse. In spring Turkish fleet of 180 vessels commanded by Admiral Hamza Beg, governor of Thrace, sails from Gallipoli to Mitylene in Lesbos. Turkish fleet sails to Chios to intimidate the Chians. Turkish fleet goes to Rhodes, but seeing warships and defenses ready to attack, continues to Kos. Drunken Turkish soldiers in Chios throw tiles from roof of a church and a riot ensues. Greeks and Italians chase Turks back to ships. Bireme capsizes and the Turks drown. Mehmed II furious over incident and declares war against Chios.

CHAPTER XLIV

page 250

Dorino I Gattilusio dies 30 June 1455; succeeded by his son Domenico. Domenico dispatches Doukas to Adrianople to deliver annual tribute on behalf of the lord of Lesbos and Lemnos (1 August 1455). Viziers inform Doukas that Domenico must come in person and receive from the sultan his right to govern Lesbos. Mehmed II demands cession of Thasos and raises annual tribute from 2000 to 3000 gold coins. Designing Turkish admiral demands possession of a Lesbian bireme, which he pursued into harbor of Lesbos. Lesbians refuse to surrender the ship. The Turkish admiral sails to New Phokaia and demands surrender of the fortress. The town's magistrates comply (31

October 1455). Lord of Lesbos dispatches Doukas to plead his case before viziers. Mehmed II demands the payment of 10,000 gold coins, threatening to attack. While Doukas appeals decision, sultan seizes Old Phokaia from the lord of Lesbos 24 December 1455. Mehmed II occupies Ainos in Thrace.

CHAPTER XLV*page 254*

To avoid the impending attack, the Chians pay 30,000 gold coins for loss of Turkish lives and Hamza Beg's bireme; they also pay 10,000 gold coins for annual tribute. In protest against the government of Nicolò II Gattilusio, governor of Lemnos, the Lemnians request from Mehmed II a Turkish governor. The new governor of Gallipoli and Turkish admiral, Ismail, is ordered to deliver Lemnos to Hamza to govern. Meanwhile, the lord of Lesbos dispatches two ships in an attempt to retake the island. Five hundred Lemnians attack and take forty captives. Nicolò II Gattilusio returned to Lesbos. Three days later Ismail installs Hamza as governor of Lemnos and returns to Gallipoli with the captives in May 1456. Mehmed II marches against Belgrade, demolishes the walls with his cannon, and his Turkish troops pillage the city. Hunyadi crosses Danube, gains entrance into the city, and routs the Turks. Mehmed II wounded and his ships are burned (July 1456). Sultan returns to Adrianople in disgrace.

In August Doukas is in Adrianople to pay annual tribute for the lord of Lesbos. The captives taken on Lemnos are ransomed for 1,000 gold coins. The pope dispatches papal fleet of eleven ships in 1456 to give aid to the beleaguered islands. Lemnos, Samothrace, and Thasos are seized. The fleet returns to Rhodes. Mehmed II blames the lord of Lesbos, declares war, and dispatches a fleet under Ismail to attack the island (March 1457); unable to take Methymna and withdraws (9 August 1457). For three years the despots of the Peloponnesos did not pay their annual tribute to the sultan, and he threatens them with expulsion. In the winter (1458) Mehmed II rebuilds the fortress of the Golden Gate at Constantinople. Sultan invades Peloponnesos (15 May 1458) and takes Corinth without resistance. Despot Thomas flees to Italy and his brother Demetrios surrenders; the Peloponnesos falls to the sultan (1460-1461). Nobles of Albania slaughtered. Two thousand families from the Peloponnesos are settled in Constantinople and 2,000 youths registered for Janissaries. In 1461 the sultan fits out a fleet of

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210 ships. Sultan demands cession of Sinope. Ismail submits (June 1461). Advancing to Trebizond, sultan demands its surrender. Emperor David Komnenos capitulates (15 August 1461).

In 1462 Mehmed II demands that the voivode of Vlachia, Vlad the Impaler, make obeisance with annual tribute of 10,000 gold coins and 500 youths. The voivode impales sultan's two envoys, crosses the Danube, and takes many captives from the regions of Dystra (Silistria), who he brings back to Vlachia and impales. An army of 10,000 Turks crosses into Vlachia and is crushed by the voivode, who condemns survivors to death by impalement. Mehmed II assembles a force of 150,000 men and crosses the Danube. He is attacked by the voivode, but after suffering many losses, retires to Adrianople. In September 1462 Mehmed II dispatches a fleet of 67 ships to Lesbos, demanding the surrender of the island from Nicolò II Gattilusio. Five thousand soldiers and 20,000 citizens are besieged. Nicolò refuses to capitulate. Mehmed II departs, leaving Mahmud Pasha to continue the siege. Cannon demolish the walls in the section of the city called Melanoudion. Doukas' history ends here with an uncompleted sentence.

INTRODUCTION

Classical philologists in the past, have been very critical of the literary quality of Byzantine historians. In the flush of nineteenth-century Romanticism a new edition of Byzantine authors, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (1828-1897), was undertaken in Bonn, Germany. Byzantine philology, however, had not yet come into its own, and the editors looked with revulsion upon the solecisms of Byzantine writers. So unsavory did they consider their appointed task that they completed the editions with amazing speed. B.G. Niehbuhr (1776-1831) began the publication with the promise that it would be both an important step for the study of history and philology and a glorious reflection on the German nation, but shortly before his death, he considered it of little value.

It is true that Byzantine historians, no matter how hard they tried, often found the task of writing in the style of Herodotus and Thucydides beyond their abilities. The problem of resurrecting a simplified classical Greek language has been inherited by modern Greek scholars, resulting in a remarkable linguistic controversy which has yet to be resolved. Language like faith has an eternal quality about it, and once it reaches perfection ought not to be blemished by evolution, especially when such evolution points to degeneration—or so thought the purist Byzantine writers. For the contemporary Greek Orthodox Christian in Greece, Greek Orthodox pertains not only to Orthodox Christianity as developed in the Greek East but also to the worship of Christ in the Greek language—not modern Greek, but the Greek of the Septuagint and of the original New Testament, the ecclesiastical Greek of the Church Fathers. The ancestral language is the national treasure.

Byzantium produced works of intellectual and artistic merit to the last, despite one political disaster after another. As guardians of the intellectual heritage of antiquity, the Byzantines called into life a peculiar medieval culture and literature of their own. Byzantium's "last splendid glow" was particularly reflected in the written works of those historians who were living during the siege and Fall of Constantinople in 1453. The irreversible advance of the Ottoman Turks, the distress and anguish at the impending disaster, the prophecies of hope and the tragic disillusionments of reality, the religious issue of union with Rome, determining the fate of the empire, all form part of the fascinating story recorded by the last Byzantine historians.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the Byzantine state—it had long ceased to be an empire—was confined to Constantinople, nearby Thrace, and the major part of the Peloponnesos at some distance from the capital. Byzantium had become so contracted, had suffered so many humiliating setbacks, that it was no longer able effectively to defend the islands and its remaining few possessions.

From different vantage points, Byzantium's last four historians—George Sphrantzes, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Michael Kritovoulos and the author of this history, Doukas—have preserved the sound and fury of its death throes as well as the meaning of its ultimate and total disaster.

Sphrantzes' *Chronicum Minus* covers the period of his life from 1413 to 1477. At the age of sixteen he entered the service of Manuel II Palaiologos; in later life and in high office, he dutifully served Constantine XI Palaiologos. At the Fall he was captured but was able to redeem himself. His fifteen-year-old son was accused of trying to assassinate Mehmed II the Conqueror, and was murdered by the Sultan. Tamar, his daughter, entered the sultan's harem, became ill and died. In 1468 Sphrantzes entered monastic orders and changed his name to Gregory.

Sphrantzes' linguistic style is admirable; it is neither classical nor demotic. Because of the fate of Thomas and Demetrios, the last survivors of the Palaiologan dynasty, he could not believe, like Doukas and Chalkokondyles, in the imminent resurrection of the Greek nation and the restoration of the empire with a Greek emperor, under whose rule the Greek

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language would be spoken and glorified once again. His own political experience, the failures of Constantine XI's efforts before the Fall, and the political realities in the West did not encourage him to believe that the Greek nation would be liberated by the West.

Laonikos Chalkokondyles, an Athenian aristocrat, recording the events taking place between the years 1298 and 1463, placed the Ottoman Turks in center stage. He states that he wrote his history in Greek so that it could be read in both East and West where many know the language. He considered the glory of classical Greek significant not only for the past but also for the future when the empire would be restored to the Greek nation, and a Greek emperor would once again rule and be succeeded by Greeks. Thus Chalkokondyles consciously imitates the archaic style of Herodotus and Thucydides. He viewed the Fall of Constantinople and the dissolution of the empire as merely an episode, resting all his hopes for the forthcoming resurrection on Greek learning. By this humanistic ideal he hoped to unite the fallen and materially debilitated Hellenism of his age with the glory of ancient Greece. He took great pains to explain why the Byzantines, who were Greeks, were called Romans. The few Romans, he contended, were Hellenized by the more numerous Greeks in the East where Greek language and culture were dominant. Thanks only to tradition they maintained the name *Roman*. Chalkokondyles ended his description of the Fall by saying that thus did Constantinople pay for Ilium, the Byzantines suffer for the Hellenes who set out from Aulis, and Constantine fall for the foolishness of Paris.

Michael Kritovoulos was a member of the nobility of Imbros. To save Imbros from catastrophe at the hands of the Turks, he placed the island under voluntary subjugation to the sultan. Mehmed II the Conqueror rewarded Kritovoulos by appointing him governor of the island; he served in this capacity until 1466 when Imbros was occupied by the Venetians. Kritovoulos made his way to Constantinople where his stay must have been depressing. To curry the favor of the Conqueror he composed a eulogistic history of Mehmed II's conquests from the year 1451 to 1467. But he must have been sorely disappointed by the sultan's response to his work. He neither commissioned Kritovoulos' history to be translated into Turkish and

Latin nor awarded the refugee a pension to complete his history and to sustain him in his old age.

Kritovoulos began his history by contending that since the works of many renowned rulers have been recorded, it would be improper if the glorious deeds of the Conqueror were not preserved, and this should be done in the Greek tongue especially because Mehmed II's achievements were no less significant than those of Alexander the Great! Through the medium of the Greek language the feats of the sultan would become known to Westerners as far away as the British Isles.

His fellow countrymen might recoil from Kritovoulos' obsequious praise of the despised tyrant, yet through his account the animosity with which the other three Byzantine historians viewed the sultan can be judged. Like Chalkokondyles, Kritovoulos writes in Attic Greek which he manipulates rather well. As for his political beliefs, the horrors of destruction and enslavement brought on by the Fall convinced him that the real interest of the conquered Greeks required a rapprochement with the Turks; he recognized that help from the West could never be adequate to overcome the prodigious might of the Ottomans. He agreed with the diplomacy of collaboration adopted by George Gennadios Scholarios, appointed ecumenical patriarch by the sultan after the Fall; there was no other way of preserving the Greek nation, its language, culture, and holy orthodox faith. Thus the only practical avenue left open, as Kritovoulos saw it, was cooperation with the difficult sultan; to take flight to the West, as many others had done, was no solution to the problem.

Doukas, grandson of Michael Doukas and author of *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, is the fourth Byzantine historian. His baptismal name is unknown; however, as his grandfather was called Michael, it is likely, following Byzantine tradition, that his name was Michael also, provided he was a first-born son. The grandfather, Michael Doukas, "a gold link" in the lineage of the ancient Doukas family, as the historian boasts, was one of over two hundred partisans of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos incarcerated in Constantinople during the disastrous civil war (1341-1347). When the prisoners attacked and killed the powerful grand duke, Alexios Apokavkos, the virtual dictator of Constantinople, on 11 June 1345, all were executed but six,

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one of whom was Michael Doukas, who escaped disguised as a monk. The historian's grandfather crossed the straits and sought refuge in Ephesus where he received the protection and lavish support of the Turkish emir, Isa, the son of Aydin, who was greatly impressed by Michael Doukas' profound learning and knowledge of medicine. The refugee had such great appreciation for his patron that he regarded the emir as "one crowned by God"!

According to Doukas his grandfather did not wish to return from Ephesus, his adopted fatherland, to Constantinople, because he foresaw that sooner or later the Ottomans would advance and overthrow the Byzantine state. This bond between the Aydinoglu emirs and the Doukas family determined the historian's interests. Much of what he writes concerns Ionia and the struggles between the heirs of Aydin and the Juneid family who dispossessed them. Similarly, the reason for the flight of the Doukas family from Constantinople explains the historian's dislike of the Palaiologan emperors whom he bitterly attacks as usurpers of the imperial throne.

All we know of the personal life of Doukas, the historian, is the little that he reveals to us. At the accession of Murad II in 1421, Doukas, who owned a dwelling in New Phokaia, an alum-producing Genoese colony, was secretary to the podestá, Giovanni Adorno, and composed for him two sets of letters in Turkish offering to fit out a fleet to transport Murad II and his troops across the straits to Gallipoli to engage his rival and brother, Mustafa. Adorno was thus able to wipe out a heavy debt owed the sultan for his lease of the alum mines (XXV 5, 8).

From New Phokaia Doukas crossed to the larger and richer island of Lesbos to go into the service of the Gattilusio family. He next appears in Adrianople in 1451 on a mission at the time Murad II died and Mehmed II Fatih, the Conqueror, first entered the Ottoman capital (XXXIII 4). It is likely that in Adrianople he was an eyewitness of the initial tests of the monstrous cannon cast by the Hungarian cannon-founder Urban (XXXV 3). In November 1452, when preparations for the siege of Constantinople were taking place, Doukas was present at Didymoteichos where he saw the corpses of the executed Venetian crew and their captain, Antonio Rizzo (XXXV 2).

For his sources, Doukas received a firsthand account of the Turkish sect of Bürklüdje Mustafa (Perklitzias) from a Cretan monk living in Samos (XXI 11, 12, 13, 14). After the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 Doukas tells of meeting a well-born lady who had been taken captive by the Turks; she related what the schism between Unionist and anti-Unionist clergy meant for her (XXXVII 6). The historian also spoke personally with those Turkish troops who had taken Constantinople and slaughtered 2,000 of the defenders, instead of taking them captive to be ransomed, because they were led to believe that some 50,000 Greek and allied troops were within the City. His knowledge of Turkish and Italian as well as Greek enabled Doukas to get firsthand accounts of the events leading to and following the Fall from conquerors and conquered alike. His familiarity with Genoese merchants and magistrates gave him access to important information.

In 1455 Domenico Gattilusio, regent of Lesbos, sent Doukas with generous gifts to prepare a lavish banquet aboard Domenico's galley, in honor of Hamza, the Turkish admiral and governor of the Chersonese (XLIII 5). In August of the same year, forty days after the death of Domenico's father, Doukas was in Adrianople to deliver the annual tribute to Mehmed II, on behalf of the new lord of Lesbos. The viziers ordered Doukas to bring Domenico in person to the sultan to make obeisance and to receive from the sultan's hands the commission to rule Lesbos (XLIV 1). Fleeing before the bubonic plague, Mehmed II traveled from Adrianople to Philippopolis and thence to the Bulgarian town of Izladi (Zlatica), and Doukas and his master followed. The new treaties were finally signed in the presence of the sultan; Domenico was attired in a gold-embroidered robe and his retinue were provided with silken garments for the ceremony (XLIV 2).

Mehmed II, nonetheless, was intent on taking both Old and New Phokaia from the Genoese. His grand admiral, Yunus Pasha, on the false pretext that he had pursued a Lesbian ship into port thus giving him rights of possession, demanded the surrender of Domenico's mother-in-law who happened to be on board. Doukas was now sent to Constantinople where he contested Yunus' claims before the viziers; while the case was being heard, the sultan furtively sent troops to take possession of Old

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Phokaia because Yunus had occupied New Phokaia. The case was summarily dismissed (XLIV 7).

In August 1456 Doukas was again in Adrianople to submit the annual tribute on behalf of the lord of Lesbos. Here he pleaded for the lives of some forty Lesbian troops taken captive on the island of Lemnos and happily succeeded in saving them from execution (XLV 7).

In September 1462 Mehmed II dispatched sixty-seven ships to take the island of Lesbos from the usurper Nicolò Gattilusio who had horribly murdered his brother Domenico. And thus we come to the siege of Mitylene in which a force of 5,000 armed troops and 25,000 unarmed residents were trapped. Doukas, recording the events as they unfolded, had just completed the phrase "The citizens within, therefore, seeing . . ." when Mitylene was taken by storm, and the historian was either sold into slavery, died of abuse, or slain by the enemy (XLV 23).

Why did Doukas write his history? He was, he says, prompted by the nuns to do so (XXXVI 2). In contrast to Kritovoulos, he asserts that it would have been improper for him to record the exploits of the "impious tyrant and implacable enemy and murderer of our nation," had he not recognized in these desperate times the fulfillment of an oracle, which he recalled from his youth, that soon after the end of the Palaiologan dynasty the Ottomans too would be destroyed. The restoration of the Hellenic nation would follow directly. This was Doukas' unrealistic conviction (XLII 14).

Doukas then was a fervent believer in dreams, prophecies, and oracles which he was careful to cite; none, it should be noted, was fulfilled. Shortly before his death Murad II dreamed of an apparition which put on and then removed a ring, the symbol of autocracy, from the sultan's thumb and four fingers in succession. The seers gave two interpretations of the dream: either that Murad, represented by the thumb, would be succeeded by four descendants in his line or that his immediate successor (Mehmed II) would reign only four years, after which the Ottoman dynasty would come to its end (XXXIII 8). Doukas, of course, preferred the latter reading because it concurred with the prophecy he had heard as a youth from "certain old and venerable men."

When the usurper Michael VIII Palaiologos came to the throne, he anxiously inquired of the oracle if his son would succeed him. The oracle replied, "mamaimi," which was interpreted to mean, "so many of his line would reign as there were letters in the unintelligible word." Doukas asserts that, according to the prophecy, "the end of the Ottoman tyranny would take place with the end of the reign of the Palaiologoi" (XLII 14).

Again the historian informs us that János Hunyadi's ambassador was eager to advise the Turkish battery how to bring down the walls of Constantinople because of a prophecy he had heard that the misfortunes of Christian Europe would come to an end only with the Fall of Constantinople (XXXVIII 13).

Finally, Doukas cites the false prophecy which led many Constantinopolitans vainly to seek refuge in Hagia Sophia when it was learned that the Turks had entered the City. It was said that the Ottomans would advance only as far as the Forum of Constantine and that an angel of the Lord would then descend delivering a sword to a poor and unknown man who would then proceed to avenge the Christians by driving the enemy from Europe and the east as far as Persia (XXXIX 18). Thus the ancient boundaries of the empire would be restored.

Doukas as a historian is interesting because he describes certain technological processes such as the preparation of alum which was very important to dyemaking in both East and West (XXV 4), and the technique of covering cannon with felt soaked in oil to prevent it from shattering from the heat of discharge (XXXVIII 11). Fascinated by the recent invention of guns shooting lead balls, Doukas carefully describes their effect on both men and metal (XXX 7, XXXVIII 3). He also reveals that the Ottomans had better guns than the Europeans (XXXVIII 3)!

The incredibly rapid advance of the Ottoman Turks who, thanks to the devastating civil war between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos, crossed to Gallipoli and European Thrace in 1354, soon made them the dominant power in the Balkans. Henceforth, Christian rulers and subjects suffered one indignity after the other at the hands of their Turkish overlords.

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Doukas relates how John VI Kantakouzenos, to secure Turkish troops to support his cause, gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to the Ottoman Orchan and in addition a dowry of bounteous treasures (IX 1). Following the disaster at Kossovo in 1389 Stefan Lazarević, prince and despot of northern Serbia, offered his sister Maria and large amounts of silver from Serbian silver mines as tribute to Bayazid I Yildirim (IV 1). Later, George Branković married his daughter Mara to Murad II, providing her with a generous dowry of gold and silver (XXX 1). How galling it must have been to the Christian populace to see their princesses sacrificed to infidels for political considerations!

In an illuminating passage Doukas describes how the Ottoman rulers loathed their own countrywomen, looking upon them as bears and hyenas, passionately preferring Christian beauties (IX I, XXX 3). Time and again the historian hammers home, in disgust, how the sultans were given to drunkenness, incontinence, lasciviousness, and lewdness, wantonly indulging their heterosexual and homosexual appetites as well as committing animal copulation (IX 1, XV 2, XIX 2, XXV 2, 9, XXIX 5, XXX 3, XL 6, 7, XLIV 8).

The Ottomans called the tune to which the Byzantines had to dance. Because of an alleged joint conspiracy on the part of Murad I's son Kunduz and John V Palaiologos' first-born, Andronikos, the sultan compelled the emperor, on threat of war, to blind Andronikos just as he had gouged out the eyes of Kunduz; John V obliged, by partially blinding his grandson and namesake as well (XII 2). Murad's successor, Bayazid I, forced John V to dismantle the newly erected fortifications at the Golden Gate, threatening to blind his son Manuel, the future emperor, if he refused (XII 3, 4). John VII Palaiologos had to accede to Bayazid's demand that a Turkish kadi be introduced into Constantinople to adjudicate all disputations between Turks and Byzantines according to Islamic law (XV 1). Emperors were no longer masters of their own homes.

When Mustafa callously refused to honor his agreement to deliver Gallipoli to the Byzantines in return for their crucial support against his brother Murad II, he made it painfully clear that it was preferable to dishonor his oath than to deliver up Muslims to infidel Christians, thus making slaves of a free people. His duty, asserts Mustafa, was to capture Christian

towns and convert their inhabitants to Islam. To reward the Byzantines with possession of Gallipoli, which the Turks needed for the subjugation of Christians, would be an absurd action on his part (XXIV 12). Once again, the Byzantines ate crow.

The Ottoman occupation of Thessaloniki in 1430 and the indignities suffered by the Christian inhabitants of Byzantium's second largest city, the ravaging of maidens and high-born ladies, the pillaging of houses and churches, the conversion of monasteries into mosques, the sacrificing of a ram inside the famous shrine of St. Demetrios by Murad II, the carrying away of the citizens to be sold into slavery leaving the city to be repopulated by Turks are set down by Doukas as the "ill-fated firstfruit of future calamities destined to befall the imperial capital" (XXIX 5).

Twenty-three years later Constantinople was to suffer the same evils but magnified. Mehmed II ascended the altar of Hagia Sophia to offer his praise to Allah and a ulema recited the prayer from the pulpit of the Great Church (XL 1)! The magnificent monasteries in the fallen capital were first plundered by the Ottoman troops and then occupied by dervishes, fullers, and cobblers, and by entire families of Turks (XLII 13). The Constantinopolitans, taken captive, were cruelly separated from their families and scattered from Anatolia to Egypt (XLI 18). The nobility of the capital were first ransomed and then wantonly slaughtered by the conqueror who spared only the maidens and youths selected for their comeliness to serve his carnal pleasure (XL 7, 8).

The Turkish penchant for eliminating both real and possible rivals of their own race and family is underscored by Doukas. Bayazid I gouged out the eyes of his older brother (thereby causing his death and creating a precedent for his successors), and also poisoned his brother-in-law (III 3, IV 3). Murad II strangled his infant brother Mustafa (XXVIII 6), and Mehmed II did the same to his half-brother (XXXIII 10). Juneid and his entire family were violently exterminated as a result of his machinations against Murad II (XXVIII 14). To avenge the murder of his brother and rival Mustafa, Musa burned to death all the inhabitants of the village in which the culprits dwelled (XIX 6). Mehmed II executed the thirty surviving members of the Venetian crew, whose ship was the first to be sunk by the

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cannon of the new fortress of Baš-kesen (Rumeli Hisar), and savagely impaled through the anus their captain Antonio Rizzo (XXXV 2). Later, Mehmed II was haunted by the sight of large numbers of his own men transfixed by Vlad the Impaler (XLV 20, 22). In a particularly macabre scene Doukas records a victory banquet, spread out over the cadavers of slaughtered Serbs, celebrated by Musa (XIX 8).

Both Ottomans and Christians suffered savage and inhuman treatment at the hands of Temir-khan (Tamerlane) who buried his victims alive in Sebastea with ingenious sadism (XV 6) and raised a gruesome pyramid of skulls at Smyrna (XVII 4); so devastating was the desolation wrought by his armies that neither dog's bark, nor chicken's cackle, nor child's cry was to be heard (XVII 6).

Doukas also supplies evidence of large scale conversions of the Christian population of Anatolia and the Balkans to Islam. John VI Kantakouzenos refers contemptuously to the troops defending Constantinople as a race of low birth, half-Turkish and half-Greek (IX 3). Temir-khan uses the same term (*mixovarvaroi*), to describe the Ottomans (XVI 4).

Although Doukas cites one case of forced conversion, that of Michael Pylles, interpreter to the Ottoman court (XXVIII 5), and one unsuccessful attempt by Temir-khan to compel the archbishop of Philadelphia, through torture, to renounce his faith (XXII 7), the Turks were extremely successful in bringing many Christians to Muhammad's faith simply by opening up key posts in both the government and the army to Christian peasants (XXIII 2, 9); the creation of the élite Janissary corps, a fanatic slave army, from converted Christian youths, and the imposition of the *devshirme*, the youth tribute, were masterstrokes of Ottoman policy. Many Constantinopolitans who were enslaved after the fall and scattered throughout Ottoman dominions, were converted to Islam (XLI 18).

Doukas reveals that Bayazid, Murad II's vizier, and Abdullah, Juneid's son-in-law, were both Albanians (XXI 3). Halil, Bayazid's brother-in-law and captain of the Janissary corps, was a Greek (XXVIII 12), Sulayman Balta-oglu, Mehmed II's grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet, was a Bulgar (XXXVIII 7). Alexander Šišman, a converted member of the Bulgar ruling family, was made governor of Smyrna (XXI 6).

While Christians were being converted to Islam, a fascinating Turkish sect, Doukas tells us, was emerging which preached reconciliation between the rival faiths of Islam and Christianity. The prophet of this movement was Bürklüdje Mustafa. He taught a primitive communism in which all property and possessions, with the exception of women, were held in common. Salvation for Turks could be achieved only "in concord with the faith of the Christians." It was a remarkable doctrine, which, if it had succeeded, would have saved Christians in Ottoman lands untold misery.

Doukas is important as a source of Ottoman practices and customs. He records how the death of a sultan was carefully hidden until his successor could arrive from the provinces in order to forestall rioting, revolts, and insurrections (XXII 11, XXXIII 4). He provides us with a fascinating description of the public lamentation displayed on the occasion of Murad II's death and the arrival of his successor Mehmed II (XXXIII 4). When Murad's remains were laid to rest in Prusa, Vizier Ishak poured gold coins into the hands of the indigent bystanders (XXXIII 5).

We admire Doukas for his graphic and, at times, brilliant—although admittedly biased—cameo portraits of key historical figures. His descriptions of Bayazid I's lasciviousness (XIV 2), Sophia of Montferrat's shapely figure but, alas, homely face (XX 6), John V's promiscuity (X 4, XII 2), and Temir-khan's macabre sadism (XV 6, XVII 1) are highly effective.

The historian is not so prejudiced that he is unable to praise the virtues of some Ottoman sultans and criticize the vices of erring emperors. Having supported the peace-loving Mehmed I against his rival Musa (XX 1), Manuel II Palaiologos later shifted his support to both Mehmed I's brother and to his son against Murad II, thereby incurring the wrath and rancor of the sultan (XXIII 7, XXVIII 6). When Murad emerged triumphant in this civil war, Manuel dispatched his ambassadors to him with the feeble and unconvincing argument that it was Vizier Bayazid who was to blame for the misunderstandings between emperor and sultan (XXVIII 2). Doukas praises Murad II, however, as virtuous and gentle (XXIX 7), kindly disposed to both Turks and Christians, a man of goodwill who honored his oaths and treaties, a lover of peace (XXXIII 6), a genuine friend of upright conscience (XXXIV 2).

As for Mehmed II Fatih the Conqueror, whom Doukas thoroughly despises, he provides a deeply penetrating but wholly one-sided characterization. He calls the sultan "the truly flesh-wearing demon" (XXXIII 12), "the untamed dragon" (XXXIV 9), "the barbarian" (XXXIV 11), "Antichrist" (XXXIII 12; XXXIV 5), "the braggart" (XXXIV 12), "impious tyrant and implacable enemy and murderer of our nation" (XLII 14), and "secretive and irascible" (XLV 15). Doukas also mentions repeatedly Mehmed II's disregard for human life and describes with foreboding Mehmed II's unrelenting obsession to take Constantinople. Sleepless, he planned his strategy at night, tracing on paper Constantinople's fortifications, carefully staging in detail every proposed operation (XXXV 6).

Mehmed II is also given credit for taking great pains to repopulate Constantinople after the Fall with Christians as well as with Turks. Five thousand families were brought in from the provinces (XLII 3). He resettled some 4,000 men and women, taken captive in the Balkans, in the outlying towns and villages of Constantinople (XLII 12). From the Peloponnesos the conqueror brought 2,000 families to live in the City as well as 2,000 youths to serve as Janissaries (XLV 12).

What are Doukas' feelings about Constantine XI Palaiologos? Because he was not crowned emperor at Hagia Sophia by the ecumenical patriarch but at Mistra by the local metropolitan, Doukas refuses to consider him the legitimate emperor, referring to his brother, John VIII, as "the last emperor of the Romans" (XXVIII 7). Constantine petitioned the pope for military aid in return for compliance with the Union of Ferrara-Florence (1439), but Doukas asserts that he was, nonetheless, insincere in his motives (XXXVI 2). He repeated Manuel II's unfortunate strategy of supporting rivals against the sultan by threatening Mehmed II with the release of Orchan, Sulayman's grandson and the sultan's cousin, who had been exiled to Constantinople, thereby arousing the Ottoman's ire and convincing him that the Byzantine capital must fall (XXXIV 2).

Yet the last ruler of Byzantium acquitted himself, in the face of certain defeat and death, with the courage of a true hero in a Greek tragedy. When he was offered his life and the Peloponnesos if he would surrender the capital, Constantine refused because the obloquy that would have been heaped on him would have made life intolerable (XXXVIII 18). The de-

scription of Constantine's death in the forefront of battle, abandoned and exhausted, is deeply moving.

Thus ended the glorious line of Christian emperors who had reigned for 1129 years. Begotten by one Constantine, Christian Constantinople expired in the embrace of another Constantine; the Cross was replaced by the Crescent, and Christ gave way to Muhammad. The pillage, slaughter, enslavement, and desecration of Hagia Sophia, so poignantly expressed by Doukas, must have seemed like the end of the world to the Byzantines (XXXIX 20, 21, 24, 29; XL 1, 2). How anguished was the historian's soul as he realized that the greatest cathedral of Byzantine Christianity, the magnificent symbol of its spiritual being, was to be converted into a mosque (XL 2).

Basic to Doukas' explanation of the course of historical events is the concept of *Tyche* or Fortune, both good and evil. He speaks of the "evil Fortune" of the Byzantines (V 1, VI 5, VIII 1); this evil Fortune sows hatred and gives birth to envy (V 1), and envy casts the evil eye on all good things and takes sharp aim (XXVIII 1); Fortune lets fly shafts of wrath (XXXII 1). Fortune is a tipping scale, rising and falling unpredictably (XIX 10, 12); the reversal of Fortune is like a recoiling sling (XIX 12); Fortune is fickle (XIX 13, XXII 3). Although in Greek mythology Clotho spins the thread of life, Doukas equates evil Fortune with Atropo, the Fate who cuts life's thread, and pictures her as spinning destruction and death. Thus, evil Fortune spins out counterclockwise the threads of the destiny of the Byzantines (VI 5, VIII 1); Fortune spins out death (XXII 8), and Destiny's threads come undone (XXII 10); because of Mehmed I's friendship with Byzantine emperors and Christians, he is overlooked by Atropo, and so he died peacefully (XXII 8). Fortune also smiles (XXIV 12) and looks brightly on her favorites (XXIX 2). Finally, it is the Fortune of the Romans that has raised up Mustafa in his contest for power with Murad II (XXIV 11).

And what is the cause of Byzantium's misfortunes? The stock answer of Greek historians is the sins of the Byzantines! The Turks are God's instrument by which He chastises the Byzantines for submitting to Michael VIII Palaiologos, the usurper who had blinded and imprisoned the legitimate successor, John IV Laskaris. All those who recognized Michael VIII as

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emperor, avers Doukas, brought down on their heads the frightful anathemas and excommunications leveled against the sinner and his fellow conspirators by Patriarch Arsenios. On the other hand, the "Sleepless Eye" punishes the other Christian nations because of their continuous insurrections against Byzantium (VI 2).

Bayazid I's triumphs and licentious abuse of Christian youths and maidens are viewed by Doukas as "the wages of our sins" (XV 3). The Ottoman juggernaut, savagely despoiling the land and the Christian population, would be stopped only when Christians received the fear of God in their hearts. They are guilty of impiety toward the Divinity, scorning their baptism in the Holy Trinity and transgressing God's commandments (XXIII 8). God casts His vote against the Byzantines "in His ineffable judgments because of the multitude of our nation's sins" (XXIII 8). Doukas asserts that Murad II crushed the Crusaders at Varna because the Christians had been hardened by sins; the cause of their misfortunes was their wicked deeds (XXXII 5). Hagia Sophia is deserted after the notorious Liturgy of Union (12 December 1452) "because of the transgressions and iniquities of the inhabitants" (XXXVII 5).

The Ottoman Turks and the spiritual failures of Byzantium were not, however, the nation's only enemies. Doukas is intent on recording the reprehensible acts of betrayal against the Byzantines on the part of Christian allies. He condemns the duplicity of the Genoese, playing both sides, constructing towers for sultans, offering their ships to transport Turkish troops, and betraying to the enemy vital information crucial to the defense of Constantinople in her last days (XIX 2, XXV 8, XXVII 2, 3, XXXVIII 19, 20). He scores the Albanians for betraying Constantine and his brother Thomas, delivering to Murad II the defenses of the Hexamilion in the Peloponnesos with 60,000 Christian captives (XXXII 7).

The Venetians, concerned with protecting their commercial interests in the Aegean, were guilty of impaling Byzantine seamen captured in the service of the Turks (XXI 8). They had promised to make Thessaloniki a "second Venice," but when the Turks demanded that they cede the city to them, the Venetians were afraid that the Greek inhabitants would open the gates to the Turks and so they brutally maltreated them.

Not only did they deport the leading citizens but they also drowned and tortured many as infidels (XXIX 4).

Doukas cites two noted Hungarians for their part in aiding and abetting the cause of the Turks. Urban, a renegade cannon founder, who was denied a decent salary in Constantinople because the emperor was destitute of funds, fled into the eager and waiting arms of Mehmed II and in return for substantial remuneration cast the cannon used to bring down the walls of the capital (XXXV 1). János Hunyadi's ambassador to the sultan volunteered information on how to aim the cannon balls in a triangular pattern so that the walls would easily shatter and crumble (XXXVIII 12, 13).

Although Doukas saw through the duplicity of Westerners, yet he belonged to that party of Byzantine Greeks who believed that some accommodation with the West was absolutely necessary to Byzantium's survival. What then were his views on the crucial issue of Church Union?

An agent of Genoese interests, pro-Latin in his sentiments, Doukas emerges from the pages of his account as a Unionist aristocrat who has no compassion or sympathy for the anti-Unionist commoners of Constantinople, the Orthodox national party. He reviles the Constantinopolitans as being vulgar and baseborn. He is convinced that Church Union was a necessary concession to the preservation of the state.

If Doukas' grandfather had forsaken Byzantium to take up residence in Ephesus as a sinecure of the emir of Aydin, considering his place of refuge as his fatherland (V 5), the historian was in the hire of Genoese magistrates undertaking the composition of letters aimed at supporting the Ottoman cause against Byzantine interests. Consequently, he was unable to sympathize with the religious sentiments of his fellow Greeks who refused to compromise their faith and forget the lessons of recent history in order to secure military assistance from suspect and untrustworthy Westerners. Since the thirteenth century the record had played the same old tune: submission to Rome. The price was too high to pay. The world was collapsing about their feet, yet the faithful refused, once again, to sell their souls in order to save their bodies. Their religious devotion, for all that, did not mean that they were any less realistic. They alone recognized that the West was unable to stop the Ottoman advance.

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Doukas expresses his disgust at the refusal of the Orthodox national party, members of whom he calls schismatics, to accept the validity of sacraments administered by clerics who had participated in the Unionist Liturgy of 12 December 1452 (XXXVI 6). This was a purely Donatist position which had been condemned by the Church in the fourth century. Unionist priests were considered to be excommunicates and an exacting penitential canon was imposed on all those who witnessed a liturgy celebrated by them. Anti-Unionist clergy refused to serve with Unionist counterparts (XXXVII 5).

The theological implications of the position of the anti-Unionists should not be overlooked. Attention has been drawn to their untenable Donatist view of sacraments performed by Unionist clergy. Their rejection of the church council as the legitimate instrument for the resolution of schism and theological differences, and, therefore, as the infallible organ for the formulation of doctrine, raised an insurmountable ecclesiastical barrier to Church Union.

The Unionists, on the other hand, did a great disservice to the Greek cause. The consequences of the two Councils of Union (1274 and 1439) shattered the illusion of emperors who thought that they could manipulate church policy and teaching with impunity to serve political exigencies. The tragic outcome was that neither emperors nor church hierarchy, alone or in concert, could any longer pose as the defenders and preservers of Orthodoxy, the national spiritual treasure. Both church and state leaders lost the confidence of the masses who took it upon themselves to preserve their religious heritage. Emperors and bishops in collusion might betray the Orthodox cause (sometimes for money, as Doukas points out [XXXI 9]) but not the people—monks, nuns, or laymen. The impolitic actions of both imperial and ecclesiastical authorities, pressured by a papacy demanding spiritual submission in return for military aid, resulted in the demoralization of the beleaguered Orthodox Christian flock at the very moment the external threat of the Ottoman Turks was at its greatest. Unity, not Union, was the need of that dark hour.

In those last few ominous and dark months preceding the Fall, Hagia Sophia, the heart of Byzantium, the national symbol of the true faith, was abandoned by the Orthodox faithful. Incredibly, the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom was

reviled by the anti-Unionists as a refuge of demons, Jews, pagans, and heretics. Nothing could more poignantly portray the abject despair of the Orthodox populace than the bitter desolation of Hagia Sophia, the center of the stage of Byzantine history for eleven centuries. The chorus and the protagonists had gone their separate ways, exiting from opposite wings, leaving the theater to be taken over by an alien troupe. The curtain had been rung down. Doukas' own heart was torn by this intolerable reality (XXXVII 5, XL 2).

Doukas writes in a vivid and exciting journalistic style. Although he has been accused of perpetrating barbarisms in his misuse of proper case endings, it would perhaps be more exact to say that Doukas uses neologisms, spoken linguistic forms brought about by a living language in evolution. His account is spiced with folk expressions, and he makes effective use of the harangue, which is usually brief but always characteristic of the historical figure who utters it. He also takes the trouble to translate Turkish and Italian words for the benefit of his readers.

I have avoided using Latin spellings for Greek names, which translators from Greek into English have done in the past, and Greek spellings for foreign names which Doukas uses. I have transliterated Greek names, for the most part, and for other foreign names I have used the spelling of their respective languages. For a register of Turkish names and their variants in Greek, the reader is referred to the important work of Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. Vol. 2: *Sprachreste der Türk-völker in den Byzantinischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1958).

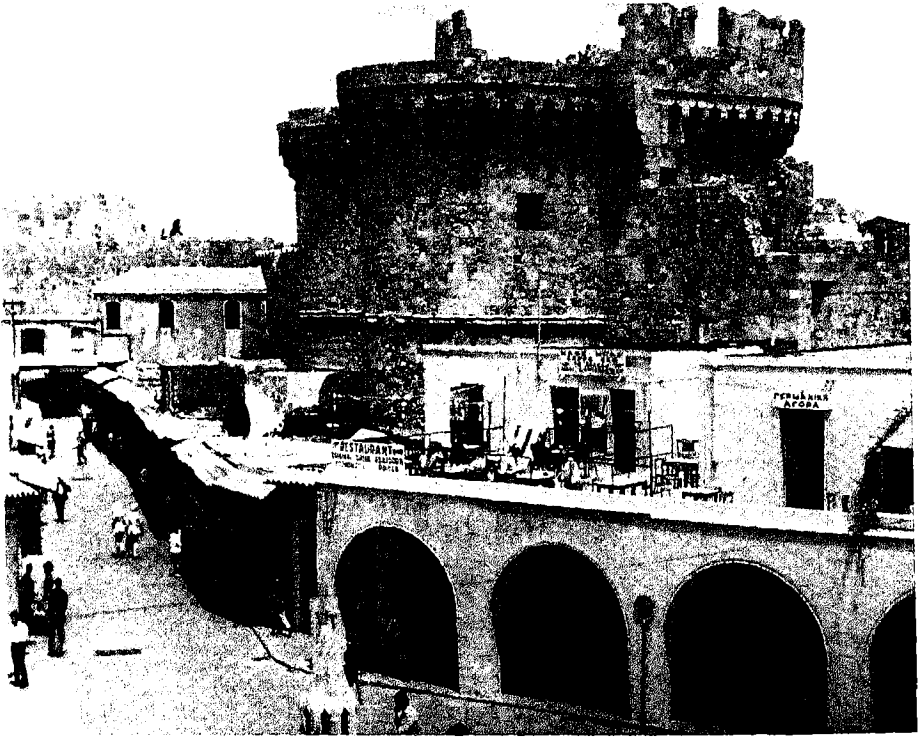
Four printed editions preceded Vasile Grecu's critical edition of Doukas' *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, published in Bucharest in 1958, the edition I have translated. The first was edited by I. Bullialdus in Paris in 1649 from the Bibliothèque Nationale ms. gr. 1310, designated as MS P by Grecu; this is a folio edition with Bullialdus' Latin translation and with copious notes added. In 1729 a Venetian edition was published by the Javarina Press in folio. In 1834 Immanuel Bekker published the Bonn edition in the series *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*. To this edition an old, anonymous Italian translation which continues where the Greek text leaves off has been added. This fact has caused some to believe that the translation

Introduction

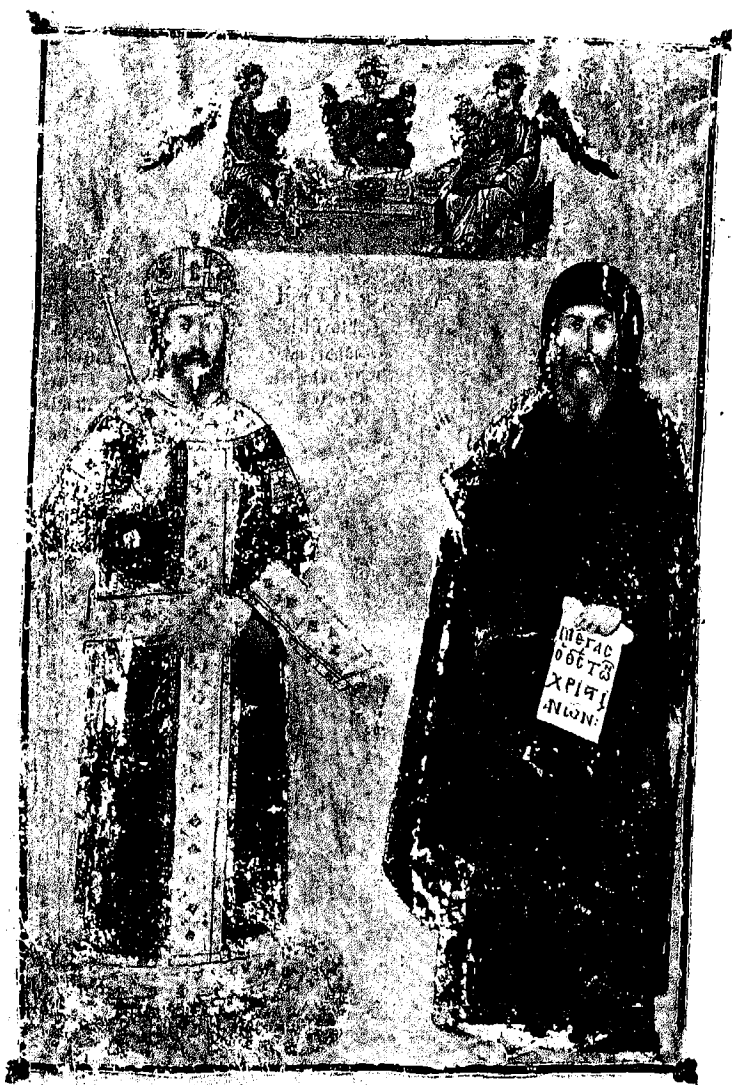
was made from a more complete codex, of which the last page may have been lost. It seems more likely that the translator may have simply borrowed from another source in order to supplement the account of the siege of Mitylene in 1462. The fourth edition prior to Grecu's is found in *Migne, Patrologia Graeca*, CLVII. Actually, the Venetian, Bonn, and Migne publications are merely reprintings of the original Bullialdus edition of 1649.

Grecu discovered a second manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale ms. gr. 1766, which he designates as MS P1. The latter enabled Grecu to correct certain errors found in the first four editions of Doukas' history and to prepare a new critical edition to which he added a Rumanian translation. Both MSS P and P1 are undated; Grecu believes MS P is a sixteenth-century copy while P1 belongs to the eighteenth century.

Although MS P was written as a continuous story without divisions, Bullialdus, the first editor, separated it into chapters. Grecu subdivided the chapters into paragraphs, and I have followed him in my translation.



Old City Rhodes with Crusader Fortifications. (Photograph taken by author.)



John VI Kantakouzenos as Emperor and as the Monk Ioasaph. Illuminated miniatures from manuscript of John VI Kantakouzenos, 1370–1375. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cod. gr. 1242, f. 123^v. (Reproduced by courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν ἰσχυρῶς ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, ἔπειτα πάλιν ἰσχυρῶς
 ἠρώτησάν σου ἵνα ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 ὁσὸν ἔβλεπες ἀδελφόν σου, ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ
 οὐδ' ἄρα ἔβλεπες ἀδελφόν σου, ἢ ἀδελφόν σου

εἰ καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν ἰσχυρῶς ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 ἠρώτησάν σου ἵνα ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 ὁσὸν ἔβλεπες ἀδελφόν σου, ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ
 οὐδ' ἄρα ἔβλεπες ἀδελφόν σου, ἢ ἀδελφόν σου

καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν ἰσχυρῶς ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 ἠρώτησάν σου ἵνα ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 ὁσὸν ἔβλεπες ἀδελφόν σου, ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ
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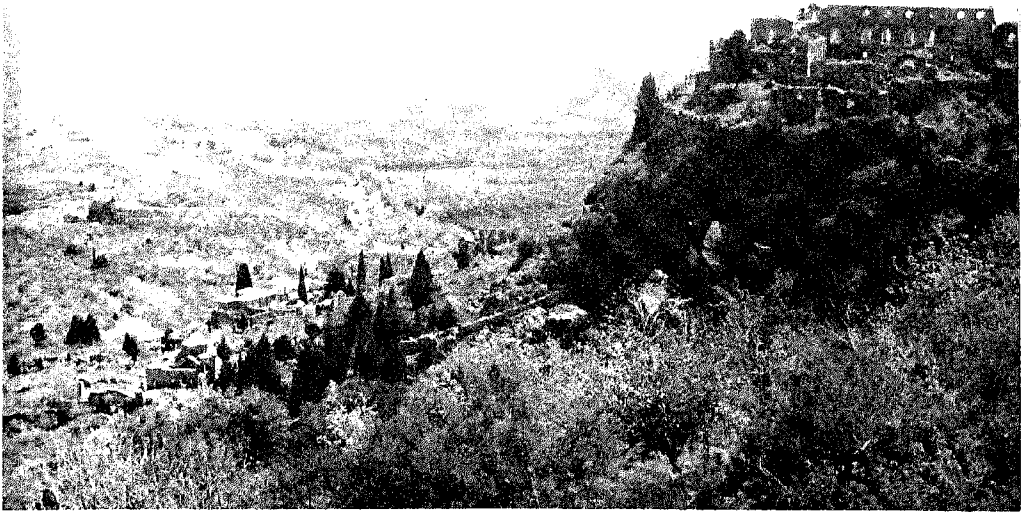
Manuel II Palaiologos. Early 15th century illuminated miniature from Manuel's funeral oration for his brother Theodore. Bibliothèque, Nationale, Paris, Cod. Suppl. gr. 309, f. VI. (Reproduced by courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



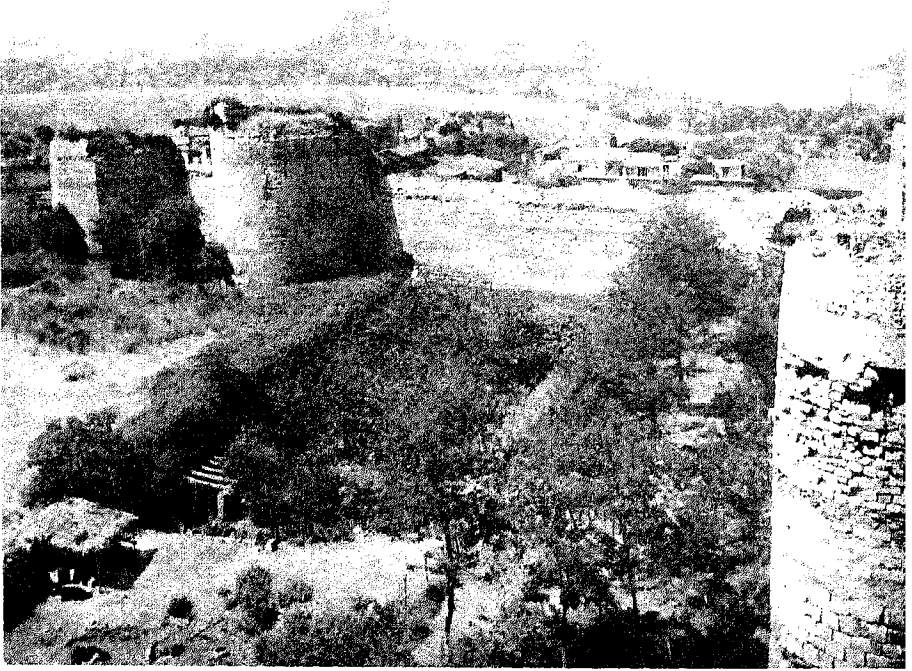
*Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Medallion by Pisanello.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British
Museum.)*



*Monastery of Brontocheion,
Mistra. (Photograph taken by
author.)*



Palace of the Despots, Mistra. (Photograph taken by author.)



Walls of Constantinople, 5th Century. (Photograph taken by author.)



Walls of Constantinople with Moat, 5th Century. (Photograph taken by author.)

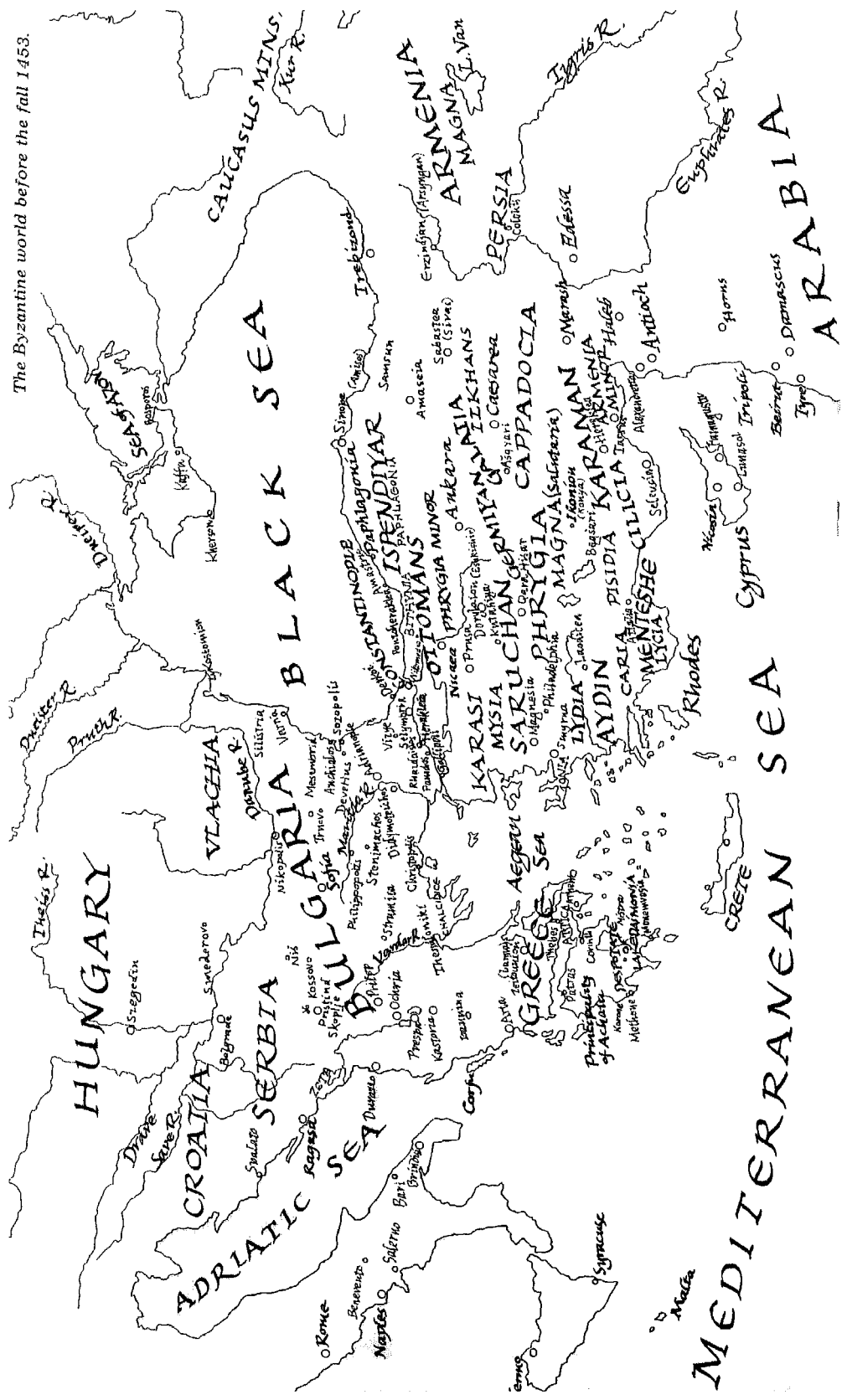


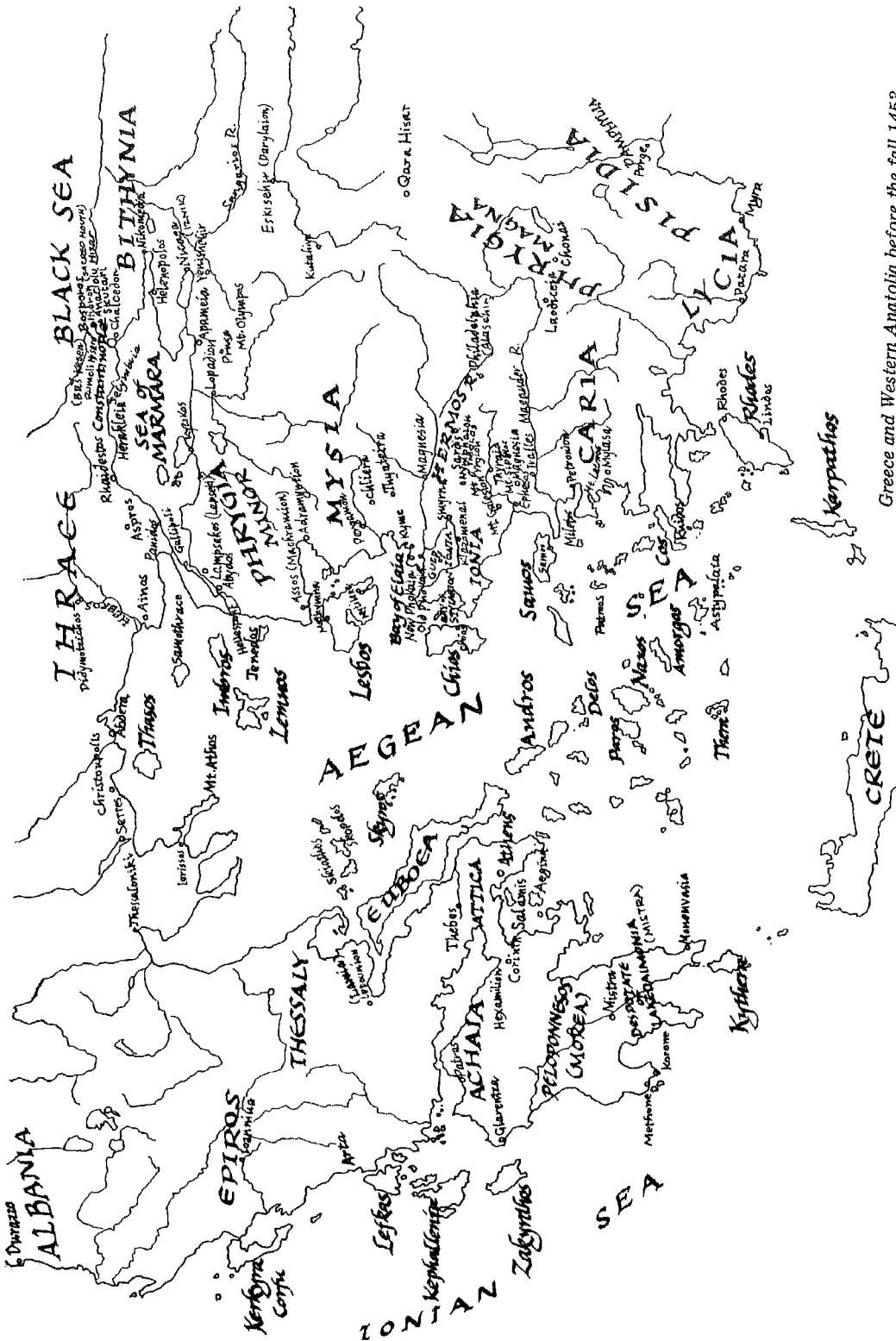
*Mehmed II the Conqueror. Portrait by Gentile Bellini.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the
National Gallery of London.)*



Emperor Constantine XI. Statue in the square of modern Mistra with inscription from Doukas' "Historia Turco-Byzantina." (Photograph taken by author.)

The Byzantine world before the fall 1453.





Greece and Western Anatolia before the Fall 1453

DECLINE AND FALL
OF BYZANTIUM
TO THE OTTOMAN TURKS

I

[*The number of years from the first man to our generation.*]

1. From Adam, the first man created by God, to Noah, at whose time the flood took place, there were ten generations. The first, which was from God, was that of Adam. The second, after 230 years, was that of Seth begotten of Adam. The third, 205 years after Seth, was that of Enos begotten of Seth. The fourth, 190 years after Enos, was that of Kainan begotten of Enos. The fifth, 170 years after Kainan, was that of Mahaleel begotten of Kainan. The sixth, 165 years after Mahaleel, was that of Jared begotten of Mahaleel. The seventh, 162 years after Jared, was that of Enoch begotten of Jared. The eighth, 165 years after Enoch, was that of Methuselah begotten of Enoch. The ninth, 167 years after Methuselah, was that of Lamech begotten of Methuselah. The tenth, 188 years after Lamech, was that of Noah. Noah was 600 years old when the flood of water came upon the earth. Thus 2242 years may be counted from Adam to the flood.

2. There are also ten generations from the flood to Abraham numbering 1121 years. Abraham was seventy-five years old when he moved to the land of Canaan from Mesopotamia, and having resided there twenty-five years he begat Isaac. Isaac begat two sons, Esau and Jacob. When Jacob was 130 years old he went to Egypt with his twelve sons and grandchildren, seventy-five in number. And Abraham with his offspring dwelt in the land of Canaan 433 years, and having multiplied they numbered twelve tribes; a multitude of 600,000 were reckoned from the twelve sons of Jacob whose names are as follows: Ruben, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Dan, Joseph, and Benjamin.

3. The descendants of Levi were Moses and Aaron; the latter was the first of the priesthood while Moses was appointed to govern. In the eightieth year of his life he walked through the Red Sea and led his people out of Egypt. This Moses flourished in the time of Inachos [son of Oceanus and King of Argos] who was the first [Greek] to reign. Thus the Jews are more ancient than the Greeks.

4. Remaining in the wilderness forty years they were governed for twenty-five years by Joshua, son of Nun, and by the Judges for 454 years to the reign of Saul, the first king installed by them. During the first year of his reign the great David was born. Thus from Abraham to David fourteen generations are numbered for a total of 1024 years. From David to the deportation to Babylon [586 B.C.] there are fourteen generations totaling 609 years. From the Babylonian Captivity to Christ there are fourteen generations totaling 504 years.

By the sequence of years we calculate the number of 5,500 years from the time of the first Adam to Christ.¹

5. From the Dispensation of the Incarnation to Constantine the Great [Emperor in the West, 306–324; Sole Emperor, 324–337] there are 318 years.

From the reign of Constantine the Great to the reign of Emperor² Justinian [527–565] there are 210 years. During Justinian's reign the Great Church named for the Holy Wisdom of God³ was planned and built by him [532–537].

From the reign of Justinian to the reign of Constantine [VI, 780–797] and Irene, his mother, there are 260 years.

From the reign of Irene [797–802] to the reign of Alexios Komnenos [I, 1081–1118] there are 295 years.

Alexios reigned thirty-seven years, four and a half months; his son John, twenty-four years, eight months [II, 1118–1143]; Manuel, John's son, thirty-seven years, nine months [I, 1143–1180]. Alexios [II, 1180–1183], Manuel's son, and Andronikos [I, 1143–1180], Alexios' murderer, each three years. Thus all the years of the Komnenian dynasty number 101 years, 9 months.

6. After Andronikos, Isaakios Angelos reigned nine years and eight months [II, 1185–1195]; Alexios Angelos [III, 1195–1203], Isaakios' brother, nine years; Doukas Mourtzophlos two months [Alexios V, 1204]. Thus from the crea-

tion of the world to Doukas, under whose reign Constantinople was captured by the Latins, 6712 years elapsed [A.D. 1204]. The date was 12 April, Monday of the sixth week of Lent.

II

1. After the fall of the City⁴ Theodore Laskaris reigned in Nicaea eighteen years [1204–1222]. John Doukas Vatatzes, son-in-law of Theodore Laskaris, reigned in Magnesia of Sipylos thirty-three years [1222–1254]. His son Theodore Laskaris reigned four years [1254–1258]. John Laskaris, who, before he was crowned, was blinded by Michael Palaiologos, in the third year of his reign was ousted from the throne [1258–1261]. The Latins were also expelled from the City, and from the East Michael Palaiologos entered as emperor [25 July 1261].

2. Until the reign of Michael Palaiologos Asia Minor, Paphlagonia, Mysia, Bithynia, Phrygia Magna, Phrygia Kappatiane, Caria, and part of Cilicia, were subject to the Romans.⁵ The Turks, on the other hand, while occupying Lykaonia, governed the territories beyond, that is, Lykaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Pamphylia, Armenia, Helenopontos, Pisidia, Lycia, Syria Coele, and more.

3. Michael reigned twenty-four years [VIII, 1259–1282]. He was succeeded by his son, Andronikos Palaiologos who reigned forty-three years [II, 1282–1328]. During his reign Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia, and the province of Caria fell to Mentеше.⁶ Lydia, as far as Smyrna, was taken by Aydin.⁷ Magnesia as far as Pergamon and the entire province of Magedon fell to Saruchan.⁸ All Phrygia fell to Germiyan.⁹ Phrygia Magna, extending from the city of Assos to the Hellespont, fell to Karasi.¹⁰ All Bithynia and part of the land of the Paphlagonians fell to Othman.¹¹ All were Turkish leaders.

4. Michael, Andronikos' son, reigned with him [IX, 1294–1320].¹² Andronikos, called "the Younger," succeeded

Michael and reigned thirteen years [III, 1328-1341]. Andronikos was succeeded by his son, John Palaiologos [V, 1341-1354; 1355-1376; 1379-1391] who, because of his youth, was under the guidance of Lord John Kantakouzenos [VI, co-emperor 1347-1354].

5. During his reign the Turks began to cross the Hellespont. From Asia came Umur,¹³ the grandson of Aydin and ruler of the Turks who governed Smyrna, Ephesus, and the surrounding territories, while from Prusa came Orchan, the grandson of Othman. Crossing for the purpose of plunder they laid waste the entire Chersonese and coastline of Thrace. With no one to oppose them or to offer resistance they overran the land as far as Didymoteichos and in the direction of the capital as far as Selymbria without danger. Their intention was to subjugate all of Thrace. In the reign of the aforementioned John, therefore, while he was still a boy, the island of Chios was taken by the Genoese [1346]. The remaining Cyclades islands and the whole of the Peloponnesos with the exception of Lakedaimonia and Monemvasia were occupied by the Franks of Navarre.¹⁴ The towns of Phokaiai,¹⁵ situated in Ionia, were occupied by the Genoese.

III

1. In that same year Orchan, the ruler of the Turks, died (1360) bequeathing his dominion to his son Murad¹⁶ [I, 1360-1389] who, having become master of the Thracian cities, besieged Adrianople and took possession of all of Thessaly with the exception of Thessaloniki. Since he now held practically all the lands of the Romans, he advanced to the Triballi [Serbs].¹⁷ He destroyed many of their fortresses and towns and took their inhabitants captive; he then transported them to the Asiatic shore over the straits of the Chersonese. When Lazar, the son of Stefan, kral of Serbia,¹⁸ and himself kral of Serbia at that time,

Decline and Fall of Byzantium

beheld these things, he assembled all his forces and joined battle with the tyrant; many fell on both sides [15 June 1389]. There took place afterwards an incredibly novel stratagem. A young Serb nobleman,¹⁹ who was more daring than any other man of his time, separated himself from the Christian phalanx, as though he were deserting, and fell into the midst of the Turkish ranks. When the Turks immediately laid hands on him, he called out the ruler's name, saying, "I wish to see him and tell him something secretly so that he can win this battle; this is the reason I have deserted." They presented him to the ruler. As Murad motioned with his hand for the youth to approach, he rushed forward and, when near enough, mortally wounded Murad by plunging a sword into his heart; he then was hacked to pieces by Murad's axe-bearers and bodyguards.

2. When the Turks beheld this unexpected and novel deed, they could not allow such an evil suddenly to befall them before their eyes without retaliating. They conceived a clever and very deceptive plan. Pitching a tent in the center of the battle formations, they placed the half dead Murad within and, undaunted by the many dangers, fought their way like rabid dogs to the front ranks. The Serbs, on the other hand, were ignorant of the great deed accomplished on their behalf by the brave youth which had resulted in the loss to the Turks of their ruler. Because their worthy commander was losing the anticipated victory, they despaired and faintheartedly resisted the Turks and the battle came to an end. Lazar was captured with most of the nobles. The Turks led Lazar and all his subordinates into the tent where Murad lay breathing his last and slew them. Thus both they and Murad suffered death together.

3. Neither the right wing nor the left was aware of what was happening since these actions took place in the rear. The commander of the right wing was Sawdji, the eldest of Murad's sons, while the left wing was led by his second son Bayazid, terrifying and mighty above all others.²⁰ Bayazid was recalled by Murad's chief counselors, called viziers in their tongue, who revealed to him what had happened and showed him his father's corpse. Neither weeping nor displaying any signs of mourning, he summoned Sawdji his brother, pretending that he was being summoned by their father to discuss more effective tactics. Sawdji, ignorant of what had happened, came willingly to see

his father, but was seized by his brother, who gouged out his eyes.²¹

4. Bayazid was acclaimed ruler of the Turks. He was a feared man, precipitate in deeds of war, a persecutor of Christians as no other around him, and in the religion of the Arabs a most ardent disciple of Muhammad,²² whose unlawful commandments were observed to the utmost, never sleeping, spending his nights contriving intrigues and machinations against the rational flock of Christ.

IV

1. On assuming the rule after the fall of Lazar and Murad, as mentioned above, this Bayazid first made the Serbs subjects and tributaries, taking hostages and making treaties. He stipulated that Stefan, Lazar's son,²³ consecrated kral by Serbia following that calamity, accompany Bayazid when on campaign with his Serbian troops. He further stipulated that Stefan give him in marriage his sister Maria, Lazar's daughter, a tender virgin, as well as many talents of silver from the silver mines of Serbia.

2. Once the Serbs had become tributaries of the Turks in this manner, Bayazid assembled the entire cavalry of the Thracian and Thessalian forces and went to the coast leading to the eastern provinces. Crossing the straits which lie between Gallipoli and Lampsakos with the allied forces of both Turks and Romans under his command, he swept towards Kutahiya, the metropolis of Phrygia, and captured both the city and the Germiyan ruler of Phrygia.²⁴ After Bayazid became master of the affairs of Phrygia, he sent the Germiyan ruler to Prusa from whence he escaped by fleeing to the Persians.²⁵ Traversing Phrygia and marching from Laodicea to Ephesus, Bayazid became master of Ionia. Seizing Isa, Aydin's grandson, the ruler of Ionia, he exiled him to Nicaea in Bithynia, and there he spent

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the remainder of his life. Bayazid transported his entire force over the Maeander, and after he had boldly taken all of Caria and Lycia, Ilyas, the ruler of these provinces, fled to the Persians.

3. Bayazid hastened back to Lydia, taking all his forces, and descending Tmolos, the highest mountain of Lydia, he came to Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia. He then went to Magnesia in Sipylos; Khidr, the grandson of Saruchan, and the ruler of Lydia and the Aeolian cities, came to meet him and surrendered. Granting him some honor because Khidr was his brother-in-law, married to his sister, Bayazid sent him to Prusa and shortly thereafter killed him by poisoning him. Bayazid next took the road to Philadelphia, because that city, both extensive in size and densely populated, had remained free for nearly 100 years. The whole earth was subjugated by the Turks, but this city shone like a star in the clouded meridian. The Turks laid siege to the city[——?] but, unable to continue because of a lack of provisions, they surrendered. After first installing dependable commanders and governors in the provinces, Bayazid took all his forces from the East and marched to the western regions. Crossing the straits, he erected a new fortress at Gallipoli on the foundation of the old fortress which had been destroyed long ago and completely razed by both the Catalans and Turks.²⁶ He constructed a naval station to protect the triremes and a tower of great size which stood over the harbor to ward off hostile attacks.

V

1. Emperor John [V Palaiologos] whose childhood, youth, and maturity were over, had by that time become old and was in a state of great lethargy. In Emperor John's youth, the aforementioned Lord John Kantakouzenos governed as regent, a prudent man and extremely warlike in military affairs,

an illustrious flower of his generation from the nobility, so to speak. Because Kantakouzenos was such a man, Andronikos [III Palaiologos], who reigned before John V, treated Lord John in all things like a brother, and on his deathbed entrusted the empire to him and his son.²⁷ But the evil Fortune of the Romans sowed hatred and gave birth to envy; for those who excel in virtue are envied most.

2. While Emperor John was still an adolescent, Kantakouzenos desired to become his father-in-law through his daughter Helena. The other members of the Senate, filled with envy, went to the emperor's mother saying that it was an ancient custom for a bride to be chosen for the Emperor of the Romans, not from his own subjects but from the Alamans and Germans, "so that this people might give us succor and aid in time of need."²⁸ Empress Anna was an Alaman,²⁹ and she consented to this eagerly because she desired someone of her own blood to share the purple with her son and emperor, and so Kantakouzenos was overlooked. He, therefore, freed himself from the burden of the regency and left Constantinople to go to Macedonia. And they who feed on envy now found the opportunity and committed lese majesty against him. They declared to the empress, the emperor's mother, that the false accusation was a fact and to prove their contention, they counseled her, "Let there be a decree from your Majesty, directed to the Domestic,³⁰ that he take the Macedonian troops and come quickly to Byzantium." For they schemed that if, on the one hand, he obeyed the order, they would take the hunted man captive, and if, on the other hand, he rejected the command, they would declare the accusation proved and appoint another to govern in his stead.

3. The kinsmen and friends of Kantakouzenos secretly informed him in writing of the developments. They wrote: "If you desire to see the sun and to avoid darkness, give first consideration to disobedience; if you decide to be obedient, you will know the darkness that comes from blindness before death." When apprised of the situation, Kantakouzenos disregarded the decree and openly rebelled. The Constantinopolitans elected another prefect in his stead, Alexios Apokavkos,³¹ an ignoble and cowardly man but adept in craftiness and terrible in wickedness, upon whom the empress bestowed the office of grand duke.³²

4. When Apokavkos learned the identity of the individuals who had informed Kantakouzenos about the events that had taken place, he arrested all his kinsmen and friends and incarcerated them in the fortress of the Great Palace, over two hundred in number, men who were demigods and heroes, descendants of the Pelopides and Aiakides.³³ Confining them like sparrows in a snare, and afraid that at any time they would revolt and take possession of the fortress, and from captives become masters, thanks to visiting kinsmen and friends (for the greatest part of the City, the senators as well as the masses, respected Kantakouzenos as a most magnanimous man and beneficent to all), he conceived an evil plan: keep the prisoners together inside the fortress during the daytime and secure them at night by twos and threes in small huts. He proceeded to put his scheme into effect, and forthwith planks and beams and carpenters were provided. When the prisoners became aware of what was happening, they said among themselves: "This can mean nothing but our certain destruction. Being separated from one another can only forebode nocturnal strangulation or drowning in the sea." They said these things and then became very despondent. When Apokavkos came to make plans for the huts and to show the master builders how to construct them, he was on horseback and alone, escorted by only one servant who was on foot, which is the custom. When he came through the prison gates, the prisoners beheld him as a common destroyer and abductor of souls. A nobleman from the family of Raoul, seizing one of the planks to be used for the doorpost in place of a sword, struck Apokavkos on the head. He fell from his horse to the ground like another Satan hurtling from heaven. The servant grappled with Raoul and they exchanged blows. While they were fighting, another prisoner, grabbing an axe from the hands of a carpenter, decapitated Apokavkos who had fallen and transfixed the head on a stake on one of the sections of the breastworks.³⁴

5. This act plunged the Byzantines, the empress, and the entire army into deep despondency. Overcome by utter confusion they entered the palace—not without struggle and bloodshed and great violence. They slaughtered everyone with the exception of six who were saved in the underground chamber of the Church of Nea.³⁵ They slew the greater number in the center of this church, neither showing reverence to nor

sparing the sanctuary because of its altar. One of the six who were saved was my father's father and my grandfather, Michael Doukas. The six dressed themselves in the habits of the monks of the monastery and fled from Constantinople. They crossed to the Asiatic shore and scattered to the regions of the East, some to Bithynia, some elsewhere. My grandfather fled to Asia where he met Isa, Aydin's son,³⁶ and told him the circumstances. My grandfather was profoundly learned, master of all secular wisdom, and not inexperienced in the practice of medicine—a descendant and a gold link in the lineage of the ancient Doukas family. The tyrant welcomed him. Isa provided for him, lavished on him all kinds of provisions, and, rewarding him with benefactions, installed him in Ephesus. Doukas adopted his foreign residence for his homeland, and esteemed and honored the foreigner and barbarian as one crowned by God, recalling to mind the wicked deeds of the Romans. My grandfather foresaw that shortly all the lands from Thrace to the Danube would fall into the hands of the Turks who would soon become absolute masters just as it had happened not long before in Phrygia and Asia and in the provinces beyond. God allowed these things because of the sins of our forebears, the Romans who governed at that time.

VI

1. The aforementioned John Kantakouzenos was informed of the shameful massacre of his kinsmen and friends. Some people from the City, who were both his kinsmen and blood relatives of those who were murdered, the greater number being related by marriage, came before Kantakouzenos clad in black, weeping and wailing, and inveighing against him: "Because of you our members are slain by day and by night and are separated from our families. Those who represent the best of the Romans—their very flower—have withered and perished.

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The empire, in female hands, is like a weaver's shuttle spinning awry and twisting the thread of the purple robe. Sovereignty belongs to a babe at the breast barely able to use its mind and tongue in games and stutterings. Political power is in the hands of base and worthless men. Be persuaded by our words and lay claim to the throne. Gird your sword about your thigh. Take vigorous action and prosper and reign for the sake of truth and meekness and justice."

2. Reflecting upon the seditions of the empress and senate, which were motivated against him by envy without any reasonable cause or evidence of treason, Kantakouzenos acceded to the Romans. Donning the silken red buskins,³⁷ he was proclaimed emperor by the army. I am of the opinion that God hardened his heart so that the Empire of the Romans would be divided by dissension. As a consequence the Turks came and laid waste to all the lands under Roman sway, and not only to the lands of the Romans but to the territories of the Triballi and Mysians (Bulgars) and Albanians and every other western nation as well. For the Sleepless Eye, in full knowledge of their crimes, punishes both the hostile nations for their continuous insurrections against the Romans, and the Romans by way of the dreadful excommunications which they brought down upon their heads by swearing horrendous oaths to preserve the empire for Laskaris' son,³⁸ and never to join forces with Palaiologos [Michael VIII] in rebellion. Completely reversing themselves, the Romans swore to acknowledge and to embrace Palaiologos as emperor of the Romans, after first blinding John Laskaris. Subjecting themselves to anathema, as did the Jews at the time of the Lord's Passion, they drew down upon themselves the curse. And they were utterly destroyed, as this narrative will disclose, condemned for the same passion as the Jews who became zealots of their transgressions.

3. Assembling both the Thracian forces at his command and the fugitives from the City, Kantakouzenos went directly to the kral of Serbia and denounced all the injury and contumely he had suffered unjustly and the circumstances which resulted in the murder of his kinsmen. At that time Stefan, for this was the kral's name, was highly esteemed.

4. And as usual, when the high and the mighty are abased, the weak and the low are exalted. The misfortunes of

the Romans and the continued daily disorders and civil wars resulted in the barbarians and the rabble prevailing over the Romans. Thus the ruler of the Serbs dared to appropriate political power and to call himself *kral*. This barbarian name, translated into Greek, means emperor.³⁹

5. When the *kral* listened to the words of Kantakouzenos, he was very pleased and agreed to give him help and assistance in resisting the Romans. And this he did. When the Constantinopolitans learned that Kantakouzenos had rebelled, that he had invested himself with the insignia of empire, and that he was proclaimed emperor by all those who dwelt in Thracian territory as far as Selymbria, they were grievously concerned. Full of cowardice and fear, each deliberated with his neighbor in great distress: "What will be the outcome? What does Fortune, with evil intent, have in store for the Romans?"

VII

1. One of the sons of Aydin the Turk, Umur by name, ruler of the fortresses around Smyrna and of Smyrna itself, succeeded his father Aydin. Since he was both daring and bold, he discovered harbors along the Ionian littoral and heavily wooded coves, where the timber was suitable for the construction of cargo ships and long triremes, and built for piratical purposes a great number of biremes and triremes. With these he ravaged the surrounding cities and islands, Mitylene and the entire island of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Naxos,⁴⁰ and all the nearby islands. Learning of the dissension among the Romans and of John Kantakouzenos's rebellion—a nobleman, descendant of ancient heroes, a brave man, most bellicose in matters of war and prudent in the practice of all virtuous traits—Umur conceived an evil plan. He fitted out a fleet of over forty boats and, sailing out of the harbor, he arrived, uninvited, at Gallipoli. Disembarking, he marched over land to Didymoteichos. It so

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happened that Kantakouzenos' wife resided there with her entire household. After Kantakouzenos had collected all the gold and silver stored in his house and his other possessions and his wife and children, he headed for Didymoteichos while on his way to Serbia from Adrianople. He first prepared for any chance contingency at the fortress, and then continued to the kral.

2. When Umur did not find Kantakouzenos at home, he complained loudly that he was displeased. He wanted to see Kantakouzenos and to speak with him and to exchange oaths that they would remain brothers and allies for life. But Lady Kantakouzene welcomed and received him magnanimously with bountiful provisions and all good things, so he stayed for three months waiting for Kantakouzenos. He brought with him in his triremes about five hundred Turkish horsemen and the same number of foot soldiers. The remaining troops remained on the larger transport ships, plundering the entire coastline from Gallipoli to Selymbria under the pretense that Umur was an ally of Kantakouzenos, although in truth he was really exploring the land of Thrace. Umur with his troops swept overland to Rhedaistos, and after ravaging and laying waste the land, he returned to Didymoteichos. Since Kantakouzenos' return was delayed, Umur, learning that the Knights Hospitalers of Rhodes⁴¹ had built a fleet and were in the harbor of Smyrna where they were building a fortress in the name of St. Peter for the salvation of fugitive captives, decided to return posthaste. He concluded a treaty of peace and friendship, and Lady Kantakouzene, bestowing upon him many gifts, dismissed him.⁴² Umur departed with many captives who were the first fruits of the sins of the Romans dwelling in Thrace and in all the western provinces. The Bithynians and Phrygians and all those inhabiting the provinces of the East had already been ravaged both by time and by the Turks.

3. When Umur came to Smyrna and saw the fortress teeming with Hospitalers and bellicose and resourceful men, and so nearly completed that no further construction was needed, he was very distressed and stubbornly resolved either to capture the fortress or to die in the process. After he had begun to engage the enemy in combat and to inspect the siege engines and invent new ones, he let neither night nor day pass without

giving battle by discharging missiles or by digging trenches and mining walls, using all kinds of devices. Fighting like another Lyaïos,⁴³ performing brave deeds and feats, he was able to ford the fosse of the fortress with his men and to throw scaling ladders upon the walls. Raving like a mad dog, he rushed to be first to scale the walls so that he alone would receive the trophy. But Divine Providence, guiding and bringing all things to a good end, beheld his ferocious and fierce onrush; as he reached the midway mark up the ladder and raised his helmet slightly off his face to see how far he still had to go to reach the parapet, a quarrel, shot at him from a crossbow, pierced the visor between the eyebrows, and he fell headlong and thus violently lost his life. Seizing him quickly from inside the fosse where many Turks had also fallen, his comrades-in-arms brought his dead body into the fortress of Smyrna, situated on the summit of the mountain. In the past there had been a fortress here which served as the citadel of ancient Smyrna but subsequently fell into ruins. This fortress had been rebuilt by John Doukas [III Vatatzes], emperor of the Romans, several years before these events. Aydin, the ruler of the Turks, who was also Umur's father, captured it from the Romans in the days of Andronikos the Elder and occupied it. Such was the end of Umur [May 1348].

VIII

1. Kantakouzenos swore inviolable friendship with the kral and drew up treaties about the intermediate fortresses and towns and provinces of the unfortunate Empire of the Romans. Instead of bequeathing them to Roman masters they were divided among barbarian Triballi and Serb rulers.⁴⁴ He also began to overrun and pillage and lay waste all the cities of Thrace as far as Selymbria. When the Constantinopolitans learned of the deed perpetrated by Umur that past winter, they

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concluded that Kantakouzenos had sent Umur and was thus responsible for his visit—not knowing that Umur had come uninvited or that the evil Fortune of the Romans, spinning adversely her threads, had caused him to come and trample the fertile soil of the land of the Romans. The Constantinopolitans then conceived an evil design, drawing down upon their heads godsent wrath and fury. They convinced Empress Anna, the mother of Emperor John, who was still a boy, to send ambassadors to Orchan, the aforementioned ruler of Bithynia and Phrygia and also of Paphlagonia, to ask for aid and assistance in combatting Kantakouzenos as a rebel against the Empire.⁴⁵ She agreed to give him a large amount of gold and to allow the Turks to sell and buy, whenever they wished, any of Kantakouzenos' Roman subjects they had succeeded in capturing. They who did not want to sell their captives were allowed, without hindrance, to transport them across the straits from Skutari and to take them wherever they wished.

2. When these things were brought to Orchan's attention, he listened keenly for he had thirsted after such news for a long time. Jumping up enthusiastically, he responded with great pleasure and, exulting and rejoicing, dismissed the ambassadors—the wretches not knowing who they were summoning for help, and what kind of herb they were grinding to make a plaster for the disease which their sin had brought upon them. Orchan, therefore, dispatched ten thousand Turks, who crossed the straits to the City, where the Constantinopolitans welcomed them joyfully. After they had set foot on the walls of the City and on the streets within and had enjoyed the hospitality of the empress and the Romans, they marched out against Kantakouzenos.

3. Kantakouzenos secured the fortresses and made provision for adequate food supplies and other necessities, and then set out with his Roman and Serbian troops. They joined battle with the Turks as they made their first and second inroads. The Turks, however, failed to make any gain against Kantakouzenos for the man was extremely competent in military matters, and possessed more prowess and knowledge of the art of warfare than any other man at that time. All captive Turks he put to the sword while his troops removed only the clothing from the Roman captives and allowed them to return home naked.

4. The Turks abandoned the idea of giving battle, but instead overran the villages in search of plunder. They bound and strung together, like links in a chain, great numbers of people—men and women, infants at the breast, adolescents, priests and monks, all on the highway—in utter confusion like sheep and led them into Constantinople as though they were selling Scythians or Abasgians.⁴⁶ The terrible thing was that if a buyer was not found immediately, the Romans, before the very eyes of Romans—O, the brutality of it!—were grievously flogged by the barbarians. The motive behind this villainy was none other than to arouse the pity of the onlookers so the captive Romans would be sold. Transporting the unredeemed across the straits to Prusa and beyond, they sent them to be sold in other Turkish territories. It was a terrible sight to behold indeed! Everywhere there was wailing, everywhere lamentations, everywhere tears in the eyes of the Romans, but there was neither Hellene⁴⁷ nor barbarian to show them mercy.

IX

1. Then Kantakouzenos, reflecting on what had happened and unable to ignore the foul deed which the Constantinopolitans had unlawfully perpetrated against the Romans dwelling outside the City, conceived an evil design. God, I deem, hardened his heart in a way that resulted in the Romans completely perishing. He dispatched ambassadors to Orchan and petitioned him for help because he had been unjustly injured by the Romans and because, while he was regent of the empire of the deceased Emperor Andronikos, the Romans from envy expelled him from the regency and massacred his relatives, making him a fugitive. If Orchan would succor him and extend him a helping hand, Kantakouzenos promised to give him his daughter in marriage and many treasures for a dowry. Orchan would be like a son, and he would obey Orchan's every wish.

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When Orchan heard the ambassadors proposing this unexpected marriage contract and making promises of infinite treasures, he was like a bull which had been parched by the burning heat of summer, and was with mouth agape drinking at a hole filled with the coldest water but unable to get his fill; thus was he transformed as he listened because of barbarian incontinence. This nation is intemperate and lustful as no other people, incontinent beyond all races and insatiate in licentiousness. It is so inflamed by passion that it never ceases unscrupulously and dissolutely from having intercourse by both natural and unnatural means with females, males, and dumb animals. The people of this shameless and savage nation, moreover, do the following: If they seize a Greek woman or an Italian woman or a woman of another nation or a captive or a deserter, they embrace her as an Aphrodite or Semele,⁴⁸ but a woman of their own nation or of their own tongue they loath as though she were a bear or a hyena. Orchan, therefore, when he heard of the proposed marriage with Kantakouzenos' daughter (for she was beautiful in form and her countenance was not without grace) and the size of the dowry and the pre-nuptial gifts sent by Kantakouzenos, quickly gave his consent. He lavished gifts on the ambassadors and then dismissed them after first exchanging oaths that henceforth, as Kantakouzenos' son-in-law, he would be prepared to give aid and assistance, without hesitation, as a son to his father. The bride-to-be, together with the dowry, should be sent him before summer. This abominable betrothal took place in January of that year [1346].⁴⁹ At least five thousand Turks returned with the ambassadors to Kantakouzenos, men who were most bellicose, quick to anger, and destroyers of Romans; they could be compared to shark-toothed dogs or Charons.⁵⁰

2. Welcoming them, therefore, with customary warmth and a multitude of gifts and sating them with promises, Kantakouzenos made ready the expedition against Byzantium, taking with him the Turkish troops, the same number of Serbs or more, and as many Romans as Thrace was then able to provide. After Kantakouzenos had readied the items of the dowry and had sent his daughter to Orchan with every honor and distinction and glory and much splendor, he occupied himself with war and began by sacking and burning all the villages and towns

between Selymbria and the City. The wretched Romans whom the Serbs captured were sent back to Serbia while those seized by the Turks were transported across the straits and paraded as captives in Prusa and other cities. It was indeed a pitiful spectacle to behold! Who were the captors? Romans! Who were the captives? Romans! Who were they who killed with the sword? Romans! Who were they who were killed by the sword? Romans! Whose were the dead bodies? Romans! Who were they who put them to death? Romans! O, terrible calamity!

3. After Kantakouzenos had killed many Romans and taken large numbers of captives of war, bringing desolation and destruction to all the environs, he and his army reached the gates of Constantinople, and sought to take the City, saying: "I have come, O men, to do no man injustice nor have I been unjust in the past. I come rather as one who has suffered injustice and continues to suffer injustice. I am the Regent of the Empire of the Romans, appointed by the deceased Emperor Andronikos. The youthful successor of the Empire is my Emperor and son by adoption, for thus did his father charge me before God. What crime did I perpetrate by wishing to make him my son-in-law? Do you not know that his father looked upon me and watched over me and loved me as a true brother and that often he charged me with the care of the government and shared it with me? Am I not the most eminent of the illustrious and renowned nobility who have acquired much wealth? Am I not the most valorous among the generals? Why do you despise me? Why, your own troops are a race of low birth, half-Turkish and half-Greek!⁵¹ Why then have I come, O citizens? To do injustice to no man but rather to set matters right. Those who are at fault, I forgive them their transgressions; those who suffered unjust losses I will restore to their former state from my own coffers. I shall furthermore introduce into the polity of the Romans a state of peace. If, therefore, God commands me to avenge and requite everything, it is because of your lawless acts. Open the gates to me. I swear by the Lord Christ and His All-Immaculate Mother that I am a friend and not an enemy."

4. While the Constantinopolitans gave no answer whatever, showing only their disdain, the vulgar populace shouted

from the battlements a torrent of obscenities, reviling him and his wife. His daughter Helena, who shortly would be crowned their empress and mistress, they besmirched by calling her a wanton. When Kantakouzenos saw that he could not possibly take the City by oratory and admonishments, he turned to military intrigue. He entered the City with the aid of his own kinsmen who were situated inside; when he was seen, everyone hurriedly came, acclaiming him and glorifying him as emperor.⁵²

X

1. Empress Anna refused to surrender and shut herself up within the palace with her son and a few soldiers. In vehement protest she kept repeating, "Injustice has been done me!" Kantakouzenos' supporters wanted to force their way inside and to turn everything topsy-turvy but he stopped them. When they recalled the garrulities and insults which the vulgar populace had shouted at him, the soldiers were annoyed with him. But he, with persuasive words, soothed the throng. Then when the palace officials saw that they were in danger of death, they gave themselves up.

2. Entering the palace, he went to the innermost apartments and found the empress sitting with her son, unconcerned and unchanged in the wrath she felt for Kantakouzenos. She sat there showing no alarm and utterly unafraid. Approaching with head bared, Kantakouzenos kissed the youth's hand and making obeisance, as is the custom, to the youth's mother as empress, he saluted them as "Emperor and Empress of the Romans." Then when the whole army saw his great goodness and his absence of malice toward his enemies, they acclaimed and glorified him. He entertained the Turks with a suitable show of hospitality, and then dismissed them with numerous gifts con-

fessing his gratitude to the ruler Orchan, his son-in-law. He also lavished loving cups and many gifts on the citizens.

3. Assuaging the empress with honied words and prudent measures, he convinced her to accept his daughter Helena for the bride of her son, John Palaiologos, who was the son of the aforementioned Andronikos Palaiologos. Preparations were accordingly made for the wedding, and the Church of Our Blessed Mistress and Mother of God in Blachernai was made ready. The solemnization of the nuptials and the coronation rites took place together and the following acclamation was chanted: "May the years of John Palaiologos, the most pious Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans, and of Helena, the most pious Empress, be many." John Kantakouzenos, father-in-law of the emperor, was also crowned with his wife and acclaimed Emperor of the Romans, while his son was crowned and acclaimed despot. The procession of emperors and empresses, despots and wives of despots at the imperial banquet, comparable to the feasts of the twelve gods of old, was indeed a sight to behold!

4. Emperor John was in the first flush of manhood while Empress Helena was in her thirteenth year.⁵³ Becoming pregnant, her first-born was a son named Andronikos. As Emperor John became older he became insolent and indulged in sin and rebelled,—not with spears and lances but in lascivious and promiscuous intercourse. Consequently, many hearts were smitten with passion. Kantakouzenos, however, allowed neither sleep nor indolence to becloud his mind. During this time the Turks, who had explored and discovered the routes leading into and out of Thrace, were continuously crossing the straits. Some came from Sestos to Abydos while others, coming from Lampsakos in very small caiques, plundered the Chersonese. Kantakouzenos, on the other hand, was always keeping vigilant watch over the fortresses situated along the borders of Serbia.

5. At that time Sulayman, one of Orchan's sons, crossed from Lampsakos with a large army and plundered the Chersonese. Meeting with him near the Hexamilion⁵⁴ in the Chersonese, Despot Matthew Kantakouzenos gave battle and slew many of the Turks including Sulayman himself.⁵⁵

XI

1. When Kantakouzenos saw that the fortunes of the Romans were in dire straits, and that his son-in-law and co-emperor John was passing his time in wantonness and drunkenness, he could not bear it. One day after Kantakouzenos had openly reviled him, John left the City in two triremes and went to Italy. Emperor Kantakouzenos, left behind as the sole emperor, resisted the enemy as best he could—the Turks on one side and the Serbs on the other. The Turks frequently crossed the straits and ravaged the Chersonese.

2. Emperor John spent two years in Italy and Germany and gladly received from the Italians and Germans many treasures to be used for the defense of the City, and then he returned. When he arrived at the island of Tenedos which, at that time, was inhabited and belonged to the Romans, he became anxious to learn how the emperor, his father-in-law, would welcome him.⁵⁶

3. A Genoese nobleman, sailing in two triremes, came from Genoa to the Hellespont because Roman control there had been shattered and matters were in a state of total disorder. He had hastened from Genoa to seize and govern a number of the fortresses in the Chersonese just as the Genoese and the Venetians had done in Chios and elsewhere. On his way he met the emperor and entered into discussions with him. The emperor disclosed his intent to the man and found him agreeable and eager to offer all kinds of help. The emperor required him to swear to lay down his life for him and to seize the City, with the help of God, from the rule of Kantakouzenos, and to restore him as sole emperor of the Romans both within and without the City. This was Francesco whose surname was Gattilusio. The emperor promised, "If this is accomplished with God's help and you are my ally in the resumption of my sovereign rule, I will make you my brother-in-law by giving you the hand of my sister Maria."

4. Both men, therefore, pleased with their pledges, sailed through the Hellespont. Sailing opposite the City during the night, they reached the small gate which is named in honor of the Hodegetria.⁵⁷ Since a strong southerly wind was blowing, Francesco contrived a crafty stratagem. He had brought a small cargo of oil from Italy which he had sold, leaving many oil jars in his triremes. Thus he was carrying the empty amphorae. He commanded each pair of rowers to carry a single jar and dash it against the wall of the City, making a great din. This banging and clamor did not let up until the sentinels heard it and jumped up from their sleep. When they inquired what the racket was all about, the men of the trireme replied, "We serve merchant ships carrying much oil, one part of which is destined for the Black Sea and the other part for this Imperial City. When we were given permission to pass, lo, one of the ships was wrecked. Give us aid and we will divide the entire salvage with you as brothers, if you will allow no harm to our persons." The sea was now growing more violent and spewed forth a stormy spittle. When the gate was thrown open and as many as twenty men came out, some five hundred armed troops from the galleys, who were standing by, entered and massacred the sentinels in the tower. The triremes were left empty, and about two thousand men entered the City fully armed and in battle array. After he had gained entrance, the emperor immediately dispatched some of his household troops to the dwellings of the Palaiologan families and of his father's friends to announce his arrival. They came running under the cover of night. Francesco ascended one of the towers which was reinforced with guards and lancers, followed by the emperor, who was surrounded with both Latin and Roman men-at-arms. Francesco ran along the top of the wall with many bodyguards, shouting, "May the years of Emperor John Palaiologos be many!" The day began to dawn and when the populace heard the noise they ran to the Hippodrome. With the arrival of morning, palace officials and commoners entered in large numbers. Emperor Kantakouzenos went to the monastery of the Peribleptos⁵⁸ and was tonsured. After he had donned the black habit, he informed the emperor, his son-in-law, that entrance into the palace had been prepared for him. The emperor, as he descended from the fortifications, took the way leading to the

palace, escorted by all the Italians with their leader Francesco and by the entire city throng, comprised of both nobles and commoners who followed. The empress with the infant Andronikos had gone ahead to meet the emperor, and when they met, they embraced and happily entered the palace.

5. Emperor Kantakouzenos asked permission of the emperor to withdraw from Constantinople so that he might go to the Holy Mount to live like a monk in one of the monasteries, leaving behind him glory and dominion and worldly pleasure. His wish was granted, and after a long life of contentment, he rested in peace.⁵⁹ Shortly thereafter Orchan died, leaving the rule to his son Murad.

XII

1. Emperor John who was now twenty-five, and entering the age of manhood,⁶⁰ begat two more sons after Andronikos; Manuel and Theodore. Andronikos surpassed all the young men of his age in strength of body and in stature, and many in beauty of form. Murad also had sons: Sawdji, Kunduz, and Bayazid. Kunduz, the same age as Andronikos, occasionally spent time carousing with him. It was rumored that both swore to incite a rebellion. Kunduz would kill Murad and Andronikos his father John, and henceforth they would be brothers. Andronikos would rule the empire and Kunduz the sultanate. When Murad heard these things and ascertained after careful investigation that the accusations were true, he gouged out the eyes of his son Kunduz and sent letters to Emperor John telling of the blinding of his son and its reason, and declaring that Andronikos was equally at fault. If John failed to do the same to Andronikos, Murad would wage relentless war against him.⁶¹

2. Emperor John, either because he was powerless and unable to assume a hostile posture against Murad or lacked intelligence (he was very stupid, incapable of negotiating any

issues except those dealing with beautiful and shapely women or involving problems such as to whom this one belonged and how to ensnare her; as for other matters he took them as they came, hastily disposing of them), also blinded his son Andronikos, and in addition Andronikos' son John, an infant just beginning to speak. Instead of Andronikos, he crowned Manuel, the second of his sons, Emperor of the Romans. He installed his third son, Theodore, as Despot of Lakedaimonia. His blind son Andronikos and wife and child John he made prisoners in the Tower of Anemas.⁶²

3. After being imprisoned for two years, they managed to escape from the tower with the assistance of the Latins of Galata. The Genoese welcomed Andronikos and, using him for an excuse, began to wage war against the Constantinopolitans. Fighting against one another for many days, father against son and son against father—such was the consequence of the inhumanity of the Romans and their hatred of God—Andronikos violated the most terrifying oaths ever made, entered the City, and was proclaimed emperor of the Romans.⁶³ He imprisoned his father and his brothers, Manuel and Theodore, in the tower, using it as another Tartarus like that in which Zeus had held captive his father Kronos and his brothers, Pluto and Poseidon,⁶⁴ and he usurped the throne.

4. They also spent two years in the tower and then escaped with the cooperation of an accursed wretch whose name was Angelos and surname Diavolos; by combining the name with the surname he was called Diavolangelos. After he had succeeded in removing them from the tower, either by the art of angel or demon, and putting them into a caïque, he transported them across the way to Skutari. On learning of the escape of his father and brothers, Emperor Andronikos did not wish to prolong the misfortunes of the Romans or to cause greater evils. First he gave assurances on oath; then he recalled his father and brothers and brought them back into the City. After he had restored his father to the imperial throne, he fell at his feet and pleaded for the absolution of his crimes, and his father forgave him. Andronikos was able to open one eye and his son who was squint-eyed could blink both eyes. The emperor, who was moved to pity and very sorry for the injury he had inflicted, sent him and his son and wife to dwell in Selymbria, and granted him possession of this city together with

Daneion, Herakleia, Rhedaistos, and Panidos. He crowned Manuel with the diadem and proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans.

5. To Francesco Gattilusio, his good and faithful friend, the emperor gave his sister in marriage and the island of Lesbos for a dowry. They celebrated the nuptials, and sailed thence to make their home in Mitylene. Up to the present time members of their family, who succeed one another, continue to be lords of that island.⁶⁵

6. Since, O Narrative, the accusations against Kantakouzenos have forced you to pull in your reins and take us back in time from Bayazid to Orchan, resume now your original direction and follow a straight course toward the events relating to Bayazid or, rather, toward the misfortunes of the Romans, and let us see where you will lead us.

XIII

1. Once Bayazid had abolished the many principalities from Asia—I refer to Bithynia and Phrygia, Mysia and Caria—and became sole ruler, he turned his attention against the City. First, he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor demanding that he pay tribute and that, in addition, he send one of his sons with one hundred soldiers to campaign with Bayazid. When the emperor received no support from any of the kings, aristocrats, or demarchs,⁶⁶ he acquiesced. More than once Emperor Manuel was sent by his father Emperor John, with a hundred armed Roman troops, to campaign in the service of Bayazid when he was fighting against the Turks in Pamphylia.

2. He cut off the annual grain shipments from Asia to the islands—Lesbos, Chios, Lemnos, Rhodes, and so on. He fitted out a fleet and sent sixty long warships to Chios and put the city to the torch, devastating the surrounding villages as well as the Cyclades islands, Euboea, and the environs of Athens.

3. When the emperor beheld the blatant ambition and

audacity of the tyrant, he began to build in that part of the City called the Golden Gate, two towers on either side of the gate from pieces of white marble joined together, constructing them without the help of stonemasons and without any expense to himself by despoiling other magnificent dedicatory monuments. He dismantled the Church of All Saints built by Lord Leo the Wise and Great Emperor [VI, 886–912], and the splendid Church of the Holy Forty Martyrs erected by Emperor Maurice [582–602]; he also made use of the remnants of the Church of St. Mokios, put up by Emperor Constantine the Great. Behind the fortifications he enclosed a part of the City from the Golden Gate to the shore southwards, reserving this as a naval station for refuge in time of need.

4. After Emperor John had completed the fortification, Bayazid desired to campaign against the Turks located in the regions around Perga of Pamphylia. He called upon the emperor as usual to dispatch his son and emperor, Manuel, with one hundred soldiers. On their return he delivered an ultimatum to Emperor John while Manuel was still in Prusa, demanding that the fortifications of the Golden Gate, which Emperor John had rebuilt, be dismantled and left a ruin or he would immediately gouge out the eyes of his son Manuel and send him back blind. Emperor John, therefore, recognizing that Bayazid had great power and that he himself was unable to retaliate (he was bedridden and suffering from gout in his feet, half-dead, so to speak, from gluttony, excessive drinking, and luxurious living; moreover, he had no one except Manuel to crown emperor), demolished the fortifications. Sending tangible proofs, he informed the tyrant that his order had been carried out. After the bitter and nefarious ultimatum had been accomplished, the emperor in the throes of excruciating physical pain, died.⁶⁷

5. When Emperor Manuel learned of his father's death, he rode away at night and escaped.⁶⁸ After he reached the City and fulfilled the customary requirements of mourning, he waited apprehensively, wondering what the tyrant was planning next for him and the City. The tyrant, however, informed of the emperor's death and Manuel's escape, was vexed and annoyed, denouncing his household troops and demanding to know how Manuel had escaped and why no one had recognized him. Bayazid would kill him if he chanced to fall into his hands.

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At that time he dispatched ambassadors to Emperor Manuel with the message that he wished one of the judges and lawyers, whom they call *kadis*, to reside in the City, arguing that it was not just for Muslims, arriving in Constantinople for commercial purposes, to appear in a court of infidels to settle litigations and disputations; instead, "a Muslim must judge a Muslim." The ambassadors made, moreover, other similar unjust and calumnious demands. Finally, Bayazid threatened, "If you do not wish to do and grant all that I command you, then shut the gates of the City and reign within. Everything outside the City is mine."

6. Crossing from Bithynia to Thrace, the tyrant razed all the villages of the City and removed their populations, beginning with Panidos and extending to the City itself. He seized Thessaloniki and the villages beyond Thessaloniki.⁶⁹ He dispatched his commander Evrenos⁷⁰ to the Peloponnesos and he plundered all Lakedaimonia and Achaia. To the towns situated around the Black Sea he dispatched Turachan⁷¹ who laid them waste. Quite simply, everything was devastated and uninhabitable.

7. The City, with neither reaper nor thresher and distressed by the magnitude of the famine, was about to give up the ghost. The tyrant did not actually wage war against the City. He did not set up siege engines to demolish the battlements and walls nor did he utilize any other kind of military engine. He did not order his lightly armed troops to make skirmishes. He deployed instead more than ten thousand men around the City to guard the exits so that nothing could either leave or enter.⁷² There was, therefore, a terrible dearth of grain, wine, oil, and other provisions within the City. There was no bread or any cooked food because of the lack of wood, so they tore down the palatial residences and used the beams for fuel.

8. Emperor Manuel, in despair because there was no help whatsoever from anyone, wrote to the pope, the king of France, and the kral of Hungary,⁷³ informing them of the blockade and the City's desperate condition. He warned that if aid and assistance were not forthcoming quickly, the City would be surrendered to the enemies of the Christian faith. The rulers of the western nations were moved to pity by these words and armed themselves to oppose the enemies of the Cross. With

the coming of spring the king of Flanders,⁷⁴ many Englishmen, the nobles of France, and many Italians came to Hungary. At the rising of Sirius⁷⁵ they pitched their tents along the banks of the Danube. With them was Sigismund, the kral of Hungary, who was also called emperor of the Romans.⁷⁶ Crossing to Nikopolis, they were ready to take up arms against Bayazid. Bayazid, who had been informed many days earlier of the gathering of the nations from the West, assembled his entire army from East and West and, further augmented by his troops who were laying siege to the City, led them in person. Advancing by way of Philippopolis and over towering mountains, he arrived at the marshes before Sofia and waited there for them. The next day the Christians appeared, drawn up in formation. The Christians, in close order, first broke through the center of the enemy's phalanx. They fought fiercely and cut down all those who resisted them, pushing through to the rearguard of the enemy. After making the Turkish slingers and archers ineffectual, they returned and performed the greatest feats. When the troops of Flanders saw the battle going against the Turks who were rushing to escape, they chased after them swiftly through the Turkish camp, and leaving the bogs bloodstained they returned to their own camp.

9. The Turks called *porta*,⁷⁷ that is, palace guards, who were redeemed slaves from diverse Christian nations and numbered more than ten thousand, were hidden in a certain cope to avoid detection. At the first shout, they rushed headlong in a single movement with their ruler Bayazid against the Franks and Hungarians. First they surrounded them and then engaged them in battle, running some through with the sword and turning others to flight. When the Flemish troops returned, they witnessed the rout of the Hungarians. The Turks, shouting the war cry and rending the air with their whoops, were in hot pursuit. Suddenly more Turks appeared. Pouncing upon the Franks with much clamor and blaring of trumpets, they routed some, unhorsed others, and slaughtered those who resisted. The survivors fled to the Danube where the majority threw themselves into the river and drowned. Nobles like the duke of Flanders and Burgundy, with other Frenchmen and mighty barons, were taken alive. Bayazid sent them to Prusa where they were incarcerated and later ransomed for much money, because they had

given for their surety the lord of Mitylene, the son of Francesco Gattilusio.⁷⁸

XIV

1. Bayazid, greatly elated by such good fortune, dispatched ambassadors to Emperor Manuel demanding the surrender of the City, but the emperor sent no reply. The majority of the Constantinopolitans, suffering from famine and deeply distressed, would have chosen to surrender the City. When they recalled, however, the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks in Asia, the destruction of cities, the devastation of holy temples, the hourly vexations and extortions compelling them to renounce their faith, they would quickly change their minds, saying, "Let us not weary. Let us place our hopes in God. Let us be patient a little longer—and who knows? Perhaps God, overlooking our sins, will show us mercy as He did of old the Ninevites, and will save us from this beast." The more the tyrant saw the Constantinopolitans resisting and not yielding to his wishes, the more he ranted and raged against the City.

2. What happened next? Andronikos, the brother of Emperor Manuel, died in Selymbria.⁷⁹ When his adolescent son John reached the age of maturity and succeeded to his father's office, Bayazid demanded Selymbria from him. John, who could not allow this, related the injustices which he and his father had sustained at the hands of Bayazid's grandfather. The Empire rightly belonged to them, he contended, and he who had wronged them gave the imperial rule to the second son "and to my father the fortress which you now behold. And if you take this also, I shall have been thrice-injured." Bayazid seized the opportunity to pursue a new tack. Henceforth, whenever he demanded the cession of Constantinople, he never failed to mention the name of John, Manuel's nephew, saying, "Manuel, leave the City. Let John be brought in as the rightful

heir of the Empire, and I will observe a state of complete serenity and peace with the Constantinopolitans.”

3. Manuel was aware that the populace was being shaken by dissensions. One clamorous faction incited the citizens to sedition while the other, extremely audacious, cried out, “Let John be brought into the City and the scandals will be removed.” Emperor Manuel, who was both prudent and very erudite, observed that the rabble were complaining and accusing him of not restoring the throne to the successor, and of not being concerned with the salvation of the State because he desired to rule tyrannically. He conceived a very wise and sensible plan. Contacting John, stationed at that time outside Constantinople with ten thousand Turks, he exchanged oaths with him so that John could come into the City. The Empire of the Romans would be surrendered to him while Manuel would depart on the triremes and sail to whatever destination God so wished. Persuaded by both words and oaths, John entered. The emperor received him kindly and surrendered the palace to him. After delivering a speech before all the nobles and representatives of the people, Manuel boarded the triremes, with his wife and children and sailed away from the City, surrendering the Empire to John.⁸⁰

4. What was the aim of Bayazid, and what was the intent of Emperor Manuel? Bayazid imagined that he would receive the City from the hand of John. He had demanded this beforehand and John had given his promise. For the City, Bayazid promised on oath to deliver to John the Peloponnesos and henceforth to maintain a state of peace. The emperor, a devout and prudent Christian, recalled the words of Holy Scripture when he observed all his subjects suffering from famine. A measure of grain sold for more than twenty gold coins, but where could one gold coin be found?⁸¹ From dire need the common people contemplated disloyalty and betrayal of their country. Manuel confessed to God every hour of every day, praying, “Let it not befall me Christ, O Lord, nor let it ever be heard among the countless Christian nations that in the days of Manuel, the Emperor, the City and the holy and precious vessels within were surrendered to the impious Christ-haters.” Finding that John, therefore, was at that time cooperating with the tyrant in order to be made emperor, and that the tyrant was

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supporting John for his own advantage, Manuel uttered the admonition, "Save yourself and take no thought of Empire."

5. When he came to the coast of the Peloponnesos, Manuel left the empress there with the children, for John was but an infant and Theodore a babe. He left them in Methone and sent back the triremes; then he boarded one of the large ships and sailed to Venice, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Ferrara. Traversing all of Italy, he went from Provence to Germany, that is, France. All the kings and dukes and counts honored him and rewarded him with gifts as though he were a demigod. Traveling through France and crossing the borders of Alamania [Germany?], he returned to Venice. The Venetians extended him their hospitality, as was meet, and after giving him many gifts, he returned to Methone on their triremes. After rejoining the empress and his children, he waited for what evil fortunes might befall the City or, rather, what misfortunes might befall the Roman nation.⁸²

XV

1. Emperor John entered the City and was crowned emperor. Then, to comply with Bayazid's demand, he brought in a Turkish judge to adjudicate the disputations between Romans and Turks according to Arabic law. Moreover, all the lands belonging to the Romans adjoining and including Selymbria were ceded to Bayazid. John reigned only within the City.

2. In Prusa Bayazid enjoyed the many fruits of good fortune and reveled in the daily homage of many nations. He lacked nothing that was beautiful from the coffers of the nations, either in animals or in metals or anything of pleasing aspect, given by God to the world; all were to be found in his treasuries. Boys and girls, selected for their unblemished bodies and beauty of countenance, were there—young and tender youths, and girls who outshone the sun. From where did they

come? Romans, Serbs, Vlachs, Albanians, Hungarians, Saxons, Bulgarians, and Latins, each speaking his own language and all there against their will. And Bayazid, living idly and wantonly, never ceased from lascivious sexual acts, indulging in licentious behavior with boys and girls.

3. These are the wages of our sins! Just is the chastisement of God! But Thou, O Lord, render unto them according to their works. Overlook our transgressions, O Master, and let us not be broken like a reed of flax but look upon us with Thy merciful eye.

4. While Bayazid was spending his time living wantonly, lo and behold, he was informed one day that ambassadors had arrived from Persia asking to see the ruler. "From whom?" he asked. "From Temir-khan,⁸³ sultan of Persia and Babylon," they replied. He directed that they be given a place to rest. Summoning them after only a few days, he asked the purpose of their mission. Given an audience they explained their reason by saying, "The Great Khan Temir informs you through us, his servants, that you are not permitted to seize foreign territories in order to make yourself a great ruler. Be content with all that God has given you from the lands of the infidels. The provinces, which you have seized by force from the other rulers, return immediately so that it may go well with you with God and you will have the thanks and praise of those rulers.⁸⁴ Otherwise, I will be their avenger with God." After the ambassadors had said these things and much more, Bayazid ordered that their beards be shaved with the razor and that they be sent back dishonored, telling them, "Go and inform your lord to come quickly for I await him. If he refuses, then it will be considered he is separated from his legal wife." Saying these and other words of contumely to them, he sent them away in disgrace. He did not neglect his own affairs but led all his forces toward the upper regions of Armenia.

5. Some years before Bayazid had taken Sebastea Magna of Cappadocia.⁸⁵ Crossing the borders of Armenia Magna during this expedition and entering the land of the Turko-Persians,⁸⁶ he occupied one of their cities called Arsyngan.⁸⁷ On his return he came to Prusa; then leaving Prusa, he crossed the straits to Adrianople where he made the following pronouncement to Emperor John, "If I expelled Emperor

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Manuel from the City, I did this not for your sake but for mine. If you wish to be my friend, then leave the City and I will grant you any province you desire. But if you refuse, as God and the Great Prophet are my witnesses, I will spare no one; indeed, I will kill everyone without exception." When Bayazid had sent this wrathful message which was followed by similar warnings, the Constantinopolitans placed their hopes in God. Long before they had brought into the City a small stock of supplies. Their answer to Bayazid was as follows, "Go and say to your lord: Since we are powerless and greatly oppressed, there is no place where we can find refuge except in God who helps the weak and mightily oppresses the oppressors. Do as you like."

6. At this time reports came from Amaseia that Temir-khan was marching against Syria. Bayazid crossed the straits to Prusa and sent word throughout his empire to summon all his forces from East and West. Temir-khan marching through Armenia, took possession of Arsyngan by the law of war and slaughtered by the sword all those who had been settled there by Bayazid. He arrived next before Sebastea, a large city, and set up a camp surrounded by palisades. When the inhabitants within refused to surrender the city, as he demanded, he mined around the city and placed beams and planks under the foundations. The citizens did not realize what was taking place because the diggers began the tunnel more than a mile away from the city. The city itself had been built of unbaked clay bricks. Once again Temir warned the inhabitants, "If you wish to save yourselves, surrender the city." When they were not persuaded but poured forth countless calumnies, he set fire to the beams on which the city rested and it was completely demolished. Once inside the city, the troops mercilessly cut down the citizens and pillaged them. Temir-khan gave orders that all the city nobles were to assemble in one place. He also ordered spacious pits to be dug for graves. The nobles were then bound in a fashion which no other tyrant had ever devised. Bending the neck down and thrusting it between the legs until the nose of that unfortunate man, whoever he might be, reached the anus, the knees and shins were raised to either side of the ears, and the man, looking like a spherical hedgehog, was cast into the grave. When ten or more men occupied one grave they did not fill it in with earth, but covered it first with planks and then

threw earth over the planks so that the prisoners would not suffocate quickly and give up the ghost. Such was the torture that the Scythian devised! After he had completely destroyed the city, he went to the region of Phoenicia and, advancing as far as Damascus, burned and pillaged and seized countless riches and many captives. He left Damascus desolate and crossed to Haleb (Aleppo) and razed it. He transported many craftsmen to Persia. After he had terrified the Arabs, he returned to Samarkand, the metropolis of Persia. Apprised of the happenings in Arsyngan, the city of Sebastea, and in Syria, Damascus, and Haleb, Bayazid did not stop conscripting troops in the East and in Asia, but collected a new army, augmenting it greatly.

7. The poor Constantinopolitans and the emperor, raising their hands to God in supplication and shedding many tears, prayed: "God and Lord of mercy, have mercy on us, Thine abject servants, and give to him, who threatens us and this Thy dwelling and the holy things within, other troubles and cares and worries, so that being freed of his tyranny we may glorify Thee the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the One God, unto the ages. Amen."

XVI

1. With the coming of Spring, lo, Temir-khan went from Persia to the regions of the Don and gathered the Tauro-Scythians and Zykhians and Abasgians.⁸⁸ He demolished the fortresses of the Bosporos⁸⁹ and then crossed to the regions of Armenia. He passed through Cappadocia with a large army, conscripting many Armenians, until he came to the region of Galatia, by which time he had as large an army as did Xerxes of old.

2. With all his Thracian and Eastern troops and newly conscripted forces assembled, and with the Serb Stefan, Lazar's son,⁹⁰ and a host of lancers, Bayazid set out to meet Temir. As

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he approached Galatia, he learned that Temir had set up camp in the city of Ankara. Bayazid pitched his tents in the middle of the plain near Ankara where the river, flowing directly by, provided potable water for the needs of the army and the horses and the entire expeditionary force. Temir was encamped on dry land. What happened next? Bayazid sent an order throughout the camp that on the following day all troops were to go hunting. For the next three days, he and his entire army hunted and chased deer. In the meantime, Temir abandoned his campsite and encamped instead on the banks of the river where Bayazid had been located. Water was scarce because the sun was now traversing the sign of the lion, but Temir was no longer concerned about finding drinking water. Bayazid, however, arrogant and scornful of the contest against Temir, considered that of secondary importance and ordered the hunts. This was the initial cause of his misfortune. Since he had gone forth while the sun was in the meridian, the troops succumbed to the burning heat. When they asked for water, there was none; without water, they perished. Five thousand men died of this torment. Bayazid, returning three days later to his campsite, found Temir encamped there. The water was no longer under his control nor was there easy access to it because of the terrain. From dire need and the seriousness of their condition they realized that they would have to give battle the next day.⁹¹

3. At this time, when the sun was traversing the spring zodiacal sign of Gemini, a sign from the heavens appeared in the western regions as a portent of evils to come. It was a brilliant comet with its tail more than seven feet high erect like a burning flame, thrusting its beam like a spear from West to East. As the sun sank beneath the horizon, the comet diffused its beam and illuminated the farthest corners of the earth. Nor did it allow the other stars to shine or the night to turn black but instead dispersed its light in a wide arc. The flame was most intense at midheaven while the rays were confined only by the horizon itself. Indians, Chaldaeans, Egyptians, Phrygians, and Persians saw this sign and so did the inhabitants of Asia Minor, and the Thracians, the Huns, the Dalmatians, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans as well, and any other nation dwelling along the littoral of the ocean. This very terrifying event remained radiant and shining everywhere—whence it was

called *Lampadias*⁹²—until the autumnal equinox when the sun began its course in the zodiacal sign of the Balance.

4. Let us now return and witness God's prodigious marvels: how He submerged Pharaoh through another Pharaoh, and how the people of the Lord were reprieved from their many tribulations, but saw not and understood not.

That evening, the Scythian issued orders throughout the whole camp that all were to be ready in the morning, mounted and fully armed. Rising at early dawn, he deployed all his commanders. He placed his eldest son commander over the right wing and his grandson (for Temir was more than sixty years old) over the left. Temir took up his position in the rear. He addressed his troops as follows: "O my assembled troops and invincible army, adamantine in nature, a stalwart wall, and of an indomitable breed. You have heard of the heroic exploits performed from the beginning by our fathers, not only in the East (for this is also our fatherland) but also in Europe and Libya and, in a word, throughout the whole world. You know full well the expedition undertaken by Xerxes and Artaxerxes against the Greeks—the Greeks, I say—those heroic men and demigods. Compared to them these half-Greek and half-Turkish barbarians are like the locust to lions. It is not to give you courage that I recall these feats for the prey is already in our hands. Let not this bugbear escape from our hands. Capture it whole and uninjured so that we may take it back to Persia where we will exhibit it to our children and teach it not to demand that we abjure our wives. Now I wish this great field which lies before us to be surrounded. Let the right wing be led forward in a circling maneuver and also the left wing. Encircle the whole plain and let the enemy be enclosed in the middle like the center of the polar axis." Then the two wings, the one from the right and the other from the left, began to encircle the surrounding area while it was still early morning.

5. At sunrise Bayazid deployed his legions. Sounding the call to battle, he stood there waiting for the initial charge of the Scythians. The Scythians, on the other hand, carried out their orders without sound or clamor or noise of any kind, working like indefatigable ants. Bayazid began to jabber and to curse his nobles. He berated the commanders and flogged them for not deploying themselves properly for battle. One com-

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mander fighting under Aydin's standard, hearing that his lord Aydin had joined his brother, abandoned his position and, taking up the standard, defected to the enemy with five hundred heavily armed troops. The forces of Saruchan did the same. The troops of Mentеше and Germiyan, when they saw their rulers shouting and signaling, also deserted and went over to their adversaries.⁹³ Bayazid, like the jackdaw, was gradually shorn of his feathers.⁹⁴ The Scythian troops enfolded him until the circle was finally closed.

6. Stefan Lazarević, Bayazid's brother-in-law, watching these maneuvers at Bayazid's side with his five thousand Serb lancers, refused to accept defeat. He and his forces charged the Scythians with martial fury, tilting their lances in the face of the Scythians. When the Scythians witnessed their ferocious and daring charge, they opened their ranks and let them through. The Scythians shot their arrows at the backsides of the horsemen, hitting the horses' flanks. They did not manage, however, to inflict much damage upon the riders because they were encased in black armor. When the Serbs turned, the Scythians again opened their ranks and let them through. Many fell on both sides. Stefan came near Bayazid and tried to persuade him to escape but could not. Many dogs had already compassed him and strong bulls had beset him round.⁹⁵ Stefan who saw what was taking place and foresaw what was about to take place, took his men and Bayazid's eldest son, Sulayman by name, and struck again at the enemy's center. Dispersing them with great force and unhorsing many while he himself slaughtered a great multitude, he barely managed to break through the ambush. The Scythians were packed close, moving from the outer circle to the crowded center. Stefan fled, taking the road leading to Prusa, and Sulayman went with him.

7. The Scythians mercilessly cut down the fleeing Turks until Bayazid, because of the extreme congestion, ascended a hillock in the middle of the plain with some ten thousand redeemed slaves called Janissaries.⁹⁶ The rest rode away in disorder. When the Scythians, in pursuit of the Turks, saw Bayazid in the middle of the net like a bass gasping for air, the order was issued: "Let none be killed." They stripped the captives naked and released them. A divine law had been passed down to the descendants through successive generations—not

only among the Romans but also among the Persians and Triballi and Scythians—to the effect that when the enemy are coreligionists, plunder alone is to be taken; they themselves are neither to be taken captive nor slain outside the battlefield.

8. Then Bayazid's slaves fell like lions upon the Scythians. Thanks to their far greater numbers the Scythians fought off the Turks, for what could ten do against a hundred Scythians? All were slain. Such were the misfortunes that had befallen Bayazid that the Scythians drew near and said to him: "Dismount, Lord Bayazid, and come hither. Temir-khan summons you." He dismounted against his wishes for his horse was Arabian and worth a huge price. They saddled instead a tiny pony and, sitting him on it, led him to Temir-khan.

9. When Temir was informed that Bayazid had been taken, he ordered a tent raised. He sat with his son inside the tent playing chess (*zatrikion*), which the Persians call *santratz* and the Latins refer to as *scacum*, indicating by this action the following sentiment: "No longer am I concerned with the capture of Bayazid. Thanks to my many forces I have him like a sparrow in a trap." In truth, however, he was dissembling, for even though he had twice as many troops in the field, great concern and enmity still tormented him until he saw Fortune's course flowing readily in his direction. Then he fabricated stories and invented fictions, and the gifts of Fortune he counted as his own heroic exploits.

10. When Bayazid was conducted to the door of the tent, Temir's followers raised their voices acclaiming Temir-khan, and along with the acclamation they referred to Bayazid, saying, "Lo, the leader of the Turks has come to you a captive." Temir, concentrating on the chessmen, did not look up at those who were acclaiming him. Then they acclaimed him once again but in a louder voice, and for a second time they announced Bayazid's name. At that moment Temir was defeated in the game of chess by his son when he made the move called checkmate, which in Persian is called *šahruch*⁹⁷ and in Italian *scaco zogao*. Henceforth, Temir called his son Šahruch. Glancing up and beholding the guards with Bayazid standing in the middle like a criminal, he inquired, "Is this he who a short while ago insisted on our divorcing our wives unless we opposed him in battle?" Bayazid answered, "I am the one, but it is not fitting

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that you should despise those who have fallen. Since you are also a ruler, you must know that it is your duty to defend the borders of your dominion." Temir, realizing that Bayazid was suffering from heat prostration (for he had not eaten from morning to dusk and was dehydrated from the extreme summer heat and humidity) ordered Bayazid, who was standing, to sit opposite him. Offering him refreshment and words of consolation, he ordered three tents to be set up, that is, splendid pavilions, saying to him, "Go and rest. Do not be concerned that those things will be done to you which you have done to others. I swear to you by God and His Prophet that no man will separate your soul from your body except God who joined them." After Bayazid had entered the tents which Temir had provided, Temir issued orders for a trench to be dug around the tents. One thousand heavily armed Persian troops were to keep watch in a ring around the tents. Outside the trench five thousand lightly armed household troops were to stand guard in rotation day and night.

11. Temir remained eight days in that field where the battle had taken place. During that time the Persian army was dispersed from Galatia to Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Asia Minor, Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia, so that it seemed that the entire army of Temir, as well as Temir himself, was in every province and city. In those eight days the army spread out and inundated everything. Temir took many captives and, seizing the riches of Ankara, burned and destroyed all those who resisted him. He came to Kutahiya, the metropolis of Phrygia, bringing with him Bayazid who was securely confined in the manner we have described above.

12. Something happened in Ankara, however, which is memorable. At the time of the battle, Bayazid had with him four of his sons: the eldest, Sulayman; the second, Isa; the third, Mehmed; and the fourth, Musa.⁹⁸ His other two sons, Mustafa and Orchan, were infants and still at home. That same year his third son, Mehmed, had been assigned the province of Galatia by his father. When, therefore, he saw his father about to fall into the hands of the Scythians, he escaped with the troops under his command and fled to the mountains where he waited to see what the future would bring. He found highly skilled professional miners who came by night and mined the

trench to free Bayazid. They reached the center of the tents and would have accomplished their cunning scheme had not some divine power prevented the wretch from being freed. At early dawn (the sun, traversing the constellation of Leo, had been hidden beneath the earth some nine hours) the relief troops arrived and, observing the earth thrown out from the hole, they cried out, and the night guards, alerted, shouted in return, and a great disturbance took place among the troops. Rushing inside, they found Bayazid in the middle of his tent with Hodja Firuz, his chief-eunuch, who had been captured with him. The miners fled and so did Mehmed. When Bayazid was presented to Temir in the morning, the latter reviled him and threatened him. At Temir's command Hodja Firuz was beheaded before Bayazid's very eyes. Consequently, from that moment on, a careful watch was set over Bayazid. During the night he was bound by iron collars and manacles while during the day many soldiers kept guard over him.

XVII

1. Departing from Kutahiya, Temir came to Prusa, wreaking destruction, taking captives, and seizing every treasure whose existence was revealed through torture and diverse punishments. He burned, lynched, buried men alive, and inflicted every conceivable kind of torment. Opening up the coffers, he emptied out the gold and silver treasures which had been won from the Romans; precious stones and pearls were counted by the bushel like grains of wheat. In Prusa he also found Bayazid's wives and concubines and among them Lazar's daughter. Snatching everything in sight—the inexhaustible treasures of Prusa, Nicaea, Nikomedia, and surrounding towns—he came to lower Phrygia. Ravaging all those fortresses and towns, he moved on to Asia. Passing next through Adramyntion and Assos, he arrived at Pergamon. During a stay there of several days, he collected the treasures of the surrounding towns. He

took captive the youths and maidens. He chastised and punished everyone, both Turks and Romans, by burning them alive or leaving them to die in prison from starvation in order to amass gold and silver. After he collected all these riches, he went to Magnesia which is located near Mount Sipylus. He then collected all the gold and silver treasures he found in Lydia as well, and all the riches of Sardis and Philadelphia and Attalos, and then went to Smyrna.

2. Temir pitched his tents before the fortress of the Knights Hospitalers, rebuilt in the days of Umur, and demanded its surrender. The Knights Hospitalers, however, refused because there were many men and women, Ephesians, Thyrasians, Nymphaians, and Christians from other cities as well who had taken refuge in the fortress. They were confident that the fortress would not fall to anyone. Bayazid had annually attacked the fortress and had, moreover, set a secure watch over the exits in order to compel its surrender because of famine, but he achieved nothing by warfare. Temir conceived the idea of blockading the mouth of the harbor. He issued orders in the evening that at daybreak every soldier was to pick up one stone and cast it into the mouth of the harbor, and it was done. When the defenders of the fortress saw this, they lost heart. Had they not towed the triremes and the other ships from the harbor into the sea by the first hour of the day [six a.m.], the ships would have been burned to ashes by the Scythians. Temir's troops had transformed the sea into dry land by the first hour of the morning. Not even one tenth—why do I say one tenth?—not even one hundredth of the troops took part in carrying out the order.

3. Where then were all the troops of Temir's army at that time? After surrounding the whole land, as we have said, they took one region after the other before warning could be given, often covering a three days' journey in one day. Unencumbered like air-borne birds flying over the whole earth, they took along only those provisions best suited to achieve easy victory. It was the same whether the troops campaigning were small or large in number. They maneuvered adroitly with great speed, and more importantly, they were completely unsparing of themselves and in battle they confronted the enemy like wild beasts.

4. The Scythians succeeded in crossing the mouth of

the harbor, and appeared before the moat. The Knights Hospitalers fought bravely from the battlements, and their arrows cut down the Scythians who fell into the moat like locusts swallowed up by sparrows. Their corpses filled up the moat, but the Scythians multiplied like the heads of Hydra. When the moat, therefore, became full of bodies, the remaining Scythians, countless numbers of them, crossed the moat by treading on the corpses. They set up scaling ladders and some ascended to the top while others took the descent to Hades. The living had no concern for the dead whether he was father or son. There was only one objective in everyone's mind: Who should be the first to reach the top and raise the standard on the tower? Climbing up on all sides, they pursued the Friars who fled inside to save themselves. The triremes were drawn up to the citadel, and the Knights Hospitalers boarded in utter confusion and disorder, taking with them the *baiulus*⁹⁹ and the remaining members of their order. Of those who had come from the outlying regions with their wives and children to find protection, all Christians, some jumped into the sea while others, grabbing either the rudders or oars or ropes of the prow or anchors of the triremes, cried out to those on board, "Have mercy on us for we are Christians. Do not leave us behind." After pummeling those outstretched hands with cudgels, the Knights Hospitalers spread sail and departed, leaving the Christians behind half dead. The Scythians then took possession of the acropolis, and, herding the captives into one place (for together, with wives and children, there were more than a thousand), led them before Temir, who commanded that all should be beheaded by the sword. He erected a tower by laying rows of stones and heads in alternating sequence. Where there was a stone, on one level, a head was placed above it on the next level, and where there was a head, a stone was set above it, and all the faces looked outwards. It was indeed a strange sight to behold and an inhuman contrivance!

5. The towns of Old and New Phokaia dispatched ambassadors to Temir before he arrived in the region of Ionia to make obeisance with many gifts. He welcomed them and made a pact of peace with them. New Phokaia belonged to the Genoese while Old Phokaia was subject to the lord of Mitylene. After Temir arrived at Smyrna and fought a battle there, he sent his grandson to scout the towns of Old and New Phokaia. When

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the lord of Lesbos¹⁰⁰ learned of this, he boarded a trireme and sailed to Old Phokaia, where he fittingly entertained Temir's grandson. After they had eaten and drunk and made merry together, he sent him away with many gifts. In turn, Temir's grandson gave him a scepter as a token of amity, and they embraced. One boarded the trireme and the other mounted his horse, and so they parted. When Temir's grandson arrived at Smyrna, he found it razed to its foundations. Thence he and his men made their way to Ephesus where troops were pouring in from everywhere. Temir had issued orders from Ankara that wherever the nobles and satraps and their troops might chance to be, they must all report to Ephesus because it was from Ephesus that Temir was to return to his fatherland.

6. Temir pitched his tents there and stayed for thirty days. He assembled the inhabitants from all the fortifications within the city's environs as well as from the neighboring towns and villages and collected their gold and silver valuables and every other precious material and costly raiment, which our forebears had surrendered after torture and burning. He left and went to Mylasa, the metropolis of Caria. So severe was the winter because of the cold and frost that the flesh of quadruped beasts and the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea was frozen and changed to ice. The troops moved from city to city, leaving each in such a state of desolation that not even the bark of a dog nor the cackle of a hen nor the cry of a child was any longer heard. Like the fisherman who casts his net and pulls it to land, bringing from the sea whatever his catch might be, large fish or small, even the paltriest little fish and tiny crab, so did they plunder all of Asia before riding away.

7. From Mylasa they went to Kaptiane of upper Phrygia and perpetrated the same crimes. From Laodicea they moved to Phrygia Salutaria which the Turks call Qara Hisar in their tongue. It was here that after much suffering Yildirim Bayazid died.¹⁰¹ It is rumored that he took his own life by poison. Temir, however, wanted to take him alive to Persia to show the Persians what sort of beast he had captured: first, to exhibit him as a spectacle and to parade him about, and then after he had suffered much torment, to take his life. While Bayazid lay breathing his last, he made the following request of Temir, "I now quit my life. Be kind to me now that I am dying

and place my body for burial in the tomb I have built." The Scythian, listening to these words, relented in his purpose. He sent the remains to Prusa with a hundred slaves who served as pallbearers, emancipating them at the same time. They escorted his body and laid it to rest in the tomb Bayazid had built. From Qara Hisar Temir moved to Lykaonia, thence he proceeded to Caesarea and then to Armenia Minor and Armenia Major. After he had spent a full year outside Persia, Temir returned as conqueror and trophy-bearer, bringing back more spoils and booty than any Persian tyrant who had preceded him.

Let us now return to the more recent rulers of the Ottomans and investigate how they succeeded to power.

XVIII

1. When Emperor Manuel learned of the Turkish defeat and that Bayazid, fallen like a bolt of lightning from heaven, had suffered an overwhelming reversal of his fortunes, he returned immediately to Byzantium. His nephew, who had surrendered the helm of government, was exiled to the island of Lemnos. Manuel was now acclaimed the sole emperor by the palace officials and the people.

2. Sulayman, who had crossed to the West, entered the City and, falling at the feet of the emperor, beseeched him in the following words, "I will be as a son to you and you will be my father. Between us, henceforth, will grow no tares nor will there be scandals. Only proclaim me ruler of Thrace and of whatever other lands I have acquired from my parents." He handed over to Manuel as hostages an adolescent brother and a sister, whose name was Fatma-qatun. He promised, furthermore, to surrender to the emperor Thessaloniki and the regions of the Strymon as far as Zetounion, the Peloponnesos and the lands surrounding the City from Panidos to the Sacred Mouth,¹⁰² and all the coastal fortresses situated along the Black Sea from the Sacred Mouth to Varna.¹⁰³ Manuel nego-

tiated a peace treaty and then sent Sulayman to Adrianople. Then he dispatched Demetrios Leontarios, a prudent man, adept in the art of warfare, to take possession of Thessaloniki.¹⁰⁴ After Demetrios Leontarios had notified the emperor that he had taken possession of the city, he proceeded to escort Emperor John into it and to proclaim him emperor of all Thessaly. The emperor likewise dispatched illustrious Romans to all the important cities and fortresses, and they, after expelling the Turks, assumed complete control. In the regions of Thrace there reigned total peace and untroubled calm while the regions of the East were greatly troubled because of the large turnover of rulers in the provinces.

3. When that severe and tempestuous winter had passed and spring arrived, a dire famine and pestilence struck all the provinces where the feet of the Scythians had trodden. Civil wars broke out. With Temir's permission, Germiyan, called Alisir, returned and was again given his paternal province. Saruchan also took back his paternal province of Lydia. Orchan and Aydin's two sons, Umur and Isa,¹⁰⁵ were apportioned all of Ionia. Ilyas, Mentеше's son, acquired Caria and Lydia.¹⁰⁶

4. Of Bayazid's sons who remained in the East, Mehmed was in Ankara of Galatia because he had no inheritance or province. With him was his brother Musa who was a mere boy. Their brother Isa was wandering about here and there without any authority. The same was true of Mustafa. Since Isa was sojourning at the time in those parts, Mehmed dispatched from Ankara one of his father's nobles, Temurtaş by name, who engaged him in battle and cut off his head. Mehmed was praised throughout Galatia.

5. In the region of Ionia under the rule of Aydin, there arose a certain Juneid by name,¹⁰⁷ the son of Qara-subaşı, a brave man, illustrious in warfare. His father served as governor of Smyrna in the days of Bayazid and because of his long rule, the Smyrnaeans respected him as supreme governor. Juneid gave battle to the sons of Aydin residing in Ephesus. With a force of Smyrnaeans and some five hundred troops from the surrounding villages, Juneid went there and plundered the inhabitants of the plain of Ephesus. Shortly afterwards he arrived before the city of Ephesus with more than five hundred troops. Aydin's son, who had deployed his troops around the fortress, succeeded in making his escape a few days later. Juneid now

became lord of the province. Nonetheless, he wrote repeatedly to Sulayman in Thrace as follows: "I suffer in your cause. I now rule Aydin's realm—not for myself but in your name. Send me help, therefore, so that I may finish off your enemies." More than once Sulayman sent him treasure, and Juneid daily campaigned on his behalf until he had dispersed Aydin's heirs.

6. With the coming of spring—this being the beginning of the second year since that terrifying cataclysm—one of Aydin's sons, Umur by name (the other had died), returned to his uncle, Mentеше Ilyas Beg, the ruler of Caria, and fell at his feet as a suppliant pleading for help. His uncle welcomed him most warmly and granted his petition. Mentеше Ilyas Beg came to Ephesus with Umur after assembling his entire army of some six thousand men. The city's garrison, and the troops of Juneid's father, Qara-subaši, numbered about three thousand since Juneid was stationed in Smyrna. The Ephesians refused to surrender, but resisted fiercely, and so the enemy hurled fire into the city. The flame, rising on all four sides, consumed the dwellings; whatever had been left standing by the Scythians, the fire devoured like grass. In two days the whole city became ashes and dust. Suffering such massive destruction, the Ephesians submitted.

7. Blockaded in the Citadel, Qara-subaši held out until autumn, anticipating relief from his son Juneid. The latter was unable to leave Smyrna for Ephesus because there was a great dearth of soldiers. Finally, Qara-subaši opened up the gates, and coming forth, prostrated himself before Mentеше and submitted. He was taken into custody with the defenders of the fortress, and Mentеше took them in bonds to his principality. Placing Qara-subaši in bonds, he threw him with his Ottoman companions into a tower of the fortress called Mamalos. What action did Juneid then take? Departing from Smyrna in a bireme and sailing to Caria, he arrived at Mamalos. He secretly sent word to the prisoners that he had come to arrange their escape. He prepared a sumptuous feast for their guards and gave them unwatered wine to drink to satiety. When they fell into a sleep as deep as death, the prisoners made their escape from the tower. They let themselves down over the wall with ropes and boarded the bireme and sailed off to Smyrna. There was great joy indeed over their escape.

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8. With the onset of winter Juneid marched against Ephesus. He blockaded Umur within the fortress, and then turned the entire city over to his soldiers for plunder. The soldiers seized all that the populace had acquired since the incursion of the Scythians, but they did not take the populace captive. Many of the citizens were slaughtered, and ten thousand other horrors were perpetrated by the iniquitous wretch. Juneid then negotiated a reconciliation with Umur and gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. After the agreement was ensured by the swearing of oaths, Umur left the fortress and they embraced one another as father and son. Juneid, moreover, forswore by oath his allegiance to Sulayman, and Aydin was declared supreme governor. He traversed the entire principality with Umur and won for himself all the cities along the Maeander including those in the north as far as the Hermos river, such as Philadelphia, Sardis, and Nymphaion. He settled in these parts his most faithful followers, and entrusted the entire province to his relatives and friends. While sojourning in Ephesus with his future son-in-law, a rumor spread among the people one morning that Umur had died. In fact, as the sun rose in the east, they took Umur's corpse and carried it to the fortress called Pyrgion, situated at the foot of Mount Tmolos, and there they buried him near his forefathers. Juneid, raised on high and acclaimed autonomous ruler of Asia, assumed the rule of his paternal inheritance. Unable to bear the man's impudence, Sulayman decided to cross to Bithynia. In Prusa the citizens received him warmly and affirmed with great joy their eagerness to die for him.

9. With the coming of spring, he began to assemble his troops to give battle to Juneid. On his part, Juneid with a few cavalry rode swiftly to Ikonion, metropolis of Lykaonia. After conversing with Karaman, he went to Kutahiya and used the same arguments with Germiyan, convincing both to come armed to Ephesus. He delivered the following message to the rulers: "You know very well the injury inflicted on you by Bayazid. He butchered several of your parents while others he hanged by the neck. He became monarch while making you exiles. Now that the iniquitous wretch has perished by the righteous judgment of God, let not the offspring of the asp swallow us, but while he is still in his prime, let us eagerly crush his head and henceforth

we shall live untroubled." The rulers gave heed to his words and deemed them to their advantage, and took up arms. With Karaman at the head of three thousand troops,¹⁰⁸ Germiyan at the head of ten thousand, and Juneid at the head of five thousand, they encamped in Ephesus.

10. With his entire army of twenty-five thousand troops, Sulayman advanced from Prusa to Lopadion. Leaving Lopadion he came to Pergamon and from Pergamon he proceeded to the plain of Mainomenos, and thence he came to Smyrna. When he was apprised of the joint arrival of Karaman and Germiyan, he was dismayed and distressed. Setting out from Smyrna he came to Ephesus and pitched his tents in a place called Mesavlion. Fearful of his enemies, he placed his tents close to each other. By digging a trench, he raised earthen mounds behind which he and his army retired. The enemy in Ephesus was separated from him by not even half a day, that is, six hours. He, from cowardice, did not advance towards them, and they, because of the disparity in numbers, did not move towards him.

11. The situation being, therefore, one of inaction, one of Juneid's spies approached him and said, "Karaman and Germiyan have agreed to deliver you this night into Sulayman's hands. After negotiating peace terms they will return to their own provinces with nothing to fear. All this they will do tonight." Because of this information, Juneid, as evening fell, lighted lanterns and torches in his tents. He selected his swiftest mounts and rode to the acropolis to see his brother Bayazid, who was warden and defender of the fortress. After relating precisely what was being planned against him, he commanded Bayazid to keep diligent watch over the city until morning. Then he continued on his way to Sulayman with the rest of his household troops. When the soldiers of Karaman and Germiyan came to the tents of Juneid in the middle of the night, they found no one. When dawn broke, Juneid placed a noose around his neck and came weeping before Sulayman confessing, "Lord, I have sinned and deserve to die. I have hung this noose around my neck. Do with me as you will. I deserve to be condemned." Moved by these words and feeling pity for him, Sulayman dressed Juneid in a bright robe and asked, "Where are the rulers at this moment and where are their troops marshalled?" Juneid answered, "In Ephesus. Grant me permission to lead an army

and I will bring them back to you captive." Sulayman, however, fearful that a knavish trick was being played on him, chose not to chase after them. Since the sun was already in ascent, Sulayman mounted his horse and advanced against Ephesus with his entire army. He also took Juneid with him. When Karaman and Germiyan, as we have said, came to Juneid's tents in the middle of the night and did not find him, they realized that they had been tricked. A great din and tumult filled the camp as some searched for their horses and others for their saddles and still others for their camels and mules in order to load them with baggage and equipment. Others took up their arms. When the sun rose and everything had been packed in an orderly way, the cavalry, the rulers, and the infantry, standing on a high place, watched the entire baggage train of loaded mules and camels, which had been sent ahead, as it passed through the mountain defiles leading to the Maeander and across the rugged terrain. Then they, according to rank, entered the mountain passes. When the end of the rearguard was at the entrance to the narrow pass, Sulayman's infantry proceeded to cross the bridge located in the direction of Mount Galesion and continued its march to Ephesus. At the fourth hour of the day [10 a.m.], as the sun was traversing the sign of Libra, Sulayman arrived at Ephesus. Juneid repeatedly counseled Sulayman to pursue the enemy but he would not listen because, on the one hand, of his very compassionate nature and, on the other, of his fear of Juneid's machinations. Sulayman was as gentle and guileless as Juneid was wily and scheming. Sulayman pitched his tents in the plain of Ephesus and stayed for four months, with nothing to do but indulge in voluptuous pleasures and lascivious behavior, for he was an imbiber of wine like no other, succumbing inordinately to carnal appetites.

XIX

1. Musa, sojourning with his brother Mehmed in Ankara of Galatia, fled to Sinope where the Turkoman Isfendiyar was

ruler.¹⁰⁹ When Isfendiyar had appropriately entertained him, Musa requested permission to cross over the opposite shore of the Black Sea to the regions of Vlachia.¹¹⁰ Isfendiyar granted his petition gladly and allowed him to cross into Vlachia. After he had met Voivode Mircea¹¹¹ and informed him who he was and whence he came and how, the voivode granted him permission to travel throughout Vlachia and to do as he liked. When the satraps of the West and the guardians of the Danubian regions learned of Musa's entry into Vlachia, they wrote to apprise Sulayman of the fact. They warned him that if he delayed going to the area of Thrace, Musa would surely take possession of the West while he, by staying on in Asia, would be confined, in the end, in Asia.

2. Sulayman heeded their warning, and marched swiftly out of Ephesus to Lampsakos, taking Juneid with him. In Juneid's place he installed another governor of Ephesus and the whole province. There was in Lampsakos a man who was erecting for Sulayman an enormous tower on the promontory opposite Gallipoli. The builder was Salagruzo de Negro, a Genoese nobleman.¹¹² After Sulayman observed that the tower was constructed to his satisfaction he rewarded the builder with large sums of money. Sulayman crossed to Gallipoli, where he sat drinking, unconcerned, making merry and debauching, taking no thought of Musa. Musa never ceased writing to the nobles promising them every advantage if he became ruler. He did not confine himself to these activities. He assembled the Turks from the regions of the Danube, and they proclaimed him ruler of all Thrace, Thessaly, and Illyricum.

3. Sulayman dispatched Juneid to Bulgaria and installed him as governor over the regions of Ochrid. Sulayman continued to Adrianople and, on entering the city, was proclaimed by all as benefactor and giver of all good things. And he truly was. Wherever Sulayman went, whether to a town or a village to spend a month, the rich and poor, and beggars in want of food became self-supporting.

4. Sulayman sent the army he had assembled from Adrianople against Musa while he spent his days carousing. When the two forces joined battle, Musa proved to be superior and routed Sulayman's army somewhere near Sofia; it was then rumored that Musa was to become ruler of the West. Sulayman,

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when informed of Musa's imminent entry into Adrianople (for the whole populace flocked to his side, many of them from the noble families), came to his senses from the lethargy of intoxication and decided to leave for Constantinople, but it was too late. He was escorted by a few horsemen but they too abandoned him and defected to Musa.

5. When Sulayman came upon a village along the way, the villagers recognized him as the ruler from his horse, clothing, and appearance, and came running. At that moment, five youthful archers, armed with bows and arrows, suddenly came across his path. Taken by surprise, Sulayman let fly an arrow and one of the archers fell headlong off his horse. Sulayman discharged a second arrow and a second archer was struck down. Then the surviving three archers (the five were both compatriots and blood relatives) let fly their arrows at Sulayman. He fell from his horse and they cut off his head.¹¹³ Musa was escorted into Adrianople with an honor guard and proclaimed ruler of the West.

6. When Musa learned of his brother Sulayman's death, he mourned. He dispatched soldiers and his chief viziers to escort his body back to Adrianople from whence it was carried with honors to Prusa and buried in the tomb which Sulayman had built. Musa made a detailed investigation as to who were Sulayman's murderers and, when he located the three, he dispatched troops to the village where Sulayman was slain. The troops rounded up all the villagers and, shackling them together with their wives and children, tied them in their huts which they then set on fire. Children, parents, relatives, huts, the entire village were burned to cinders and reduced to ashes. Such punishment did the brute mete on men, the first fruits of the evil deeds which he was to perpetrate during his lifetime.

7. Assembling the nobles of Thrace, Macedonia, and the other provinces (who were gathered together to make him obeisance), Musa harangued them, saying: "O men and friends of my father—I do not say servants—you know full well the terror which the province of Asia suffered because of Temir. My father, moreover, was delivered into his hands like a sparrow. It was no other power but Constantinople and the emperors who reign within who brought the Scythians and Persians and the other nations to ravage our homes. When my brother Sulayman

came and conquered Thrace and the other lands which our father had ¹¹⁴ ruled, not only did he not show proper regard for our paternal faith, but—it must be said—he also became half an infidel. Consequently, God passed him over and gave to me the sword of the Prophet to sunder the unbeliever in twain and to raise on high the faithful. For this reason, therefore, Constantinople must not be awarded such extensive lands. The Macedonian cities—especially Thessaloniki—which my father acquired through much toil and whose altars of the idols he converted into holy temples of God and the Prophet, must not be surrendered. If it be God's will, I will make this mother of cities and murderer of my father ours, and the temples within I will consecrate as houses of prayer to God and the Prophet." They all shouted assent and welcomed his abominable words as though they came from God.

8. After Musa had collected a large army, he first overran Serbia (for Despot Stefan Lazarević, unnerved when he heard of the attack, fled). He plundered many villages and fields, took captive the young who were handsome in form, and all the rest he slaughtered by the sword. Taking three fortresses by assault he mowed down all within and, collecting the Christian cadavers, he spread a table over them on which he banqueted with his nobles.

9. Musa returned to Adrianople from Serbia and rested briefly; then he prepared siege engines for the assault against the walls of Constantinople. Dispatching an army of no small size to Thessaly, he besieged Thessaloniki. He took all the villages along the Strymon with the exception of Zetounion, and advanced towards Constantinople; finding all the villages deserted (Emperor Manuel had moved the inhabitants into the City), he put them to the torch. He pitched his tents, supremely confident that he would take Constantinople, but he lacked the capability to achieve his appointed task. Nonetheless, he did not desist from engaging in daily combat, and many were slain on both sides. The Constantinopolitans, sallying forth, engaged the Turks in battle, and for every Roman killed, three Turks fell. This did not, however, please the emperor. Since the Romans were few in number, he treasured them as he did the pupil of his eye. He said, "What does it profit me if I lose ten out of a hundred Roman soldiers or what injury is sustained by Musa if

he loses one hundred out of a thousand Turks?" The Romans, however, were daring in their sallying forth to join battle with the Turks. The Turks captured in battle an illustrious nobleman, the official in charge of the Imperial Table for John, the future emperor, and they cut off his head. When the Romans were apprised of what had happened, they rushed through the gates and, fighting and shouting, carried the body into the City. The Turks brought his head to Musa. Then Nicholas Notaras,¹¹⁵ the dead man's father who was also Emperor Lord Manuel's interpreter and very wealthy, redeemed the head in return for a huge sum of money and buried it with the body. The death of this youth caused much mourning by the Romans and by his father and brother Loukas who served as chief minister in the days of the last emperor, John Palaiologos.¹¹⁶ During the final destruction of the City Loukas was beheaded together with his children.

10. Let us return to our narrative. Emperor Manuel, observing the tyrant's cruelty and unrelenting hatred in his warfare against the Christians, sent a message to Musa's brother Mehmed who, at that time, was sojourning in Prusa, inviting him to come to Skutari. The emperor promised to transport him in his triremes to Constantinople. Mehmed would then come forth from Constantinople and engage the tyrant in battle with the help of God and the emperor. If the scale of Fortune, on the one hand, should tip in the tyrant's favor, the City was always ready to welcome him. "On the other hand, should the opposite, which is our desire, occur, you will become ruler and be as my son." Mehmed listened to the emperor's words, and readily led all his forces to Skutari. When the emperor was apprised that Mehmed had arrived at the straits, he crossed over in his triremes. He met Mehmed, exchanged sworn pledges, and then returned with him to Constantinople. After a great three-day festival had been celebrated in honor of Mehmed's arrival, Mehmed on the fourth day came forth from the City with his entire army and a few Roman soldiers. He engaged Musa in battle but was defeated; after his defeat he sought refuge in the City.

11. The emperor restored his spirits with prudent words; Mehmed replaced his lost military equipment, and made preparations to march out a second time to engage Musa in

battle. Musa set out from the environs of Constantinople with his entire western army to attack Mehmed and the City. Mehmed came forth a second time and was again defeated. Once again he sought refuge within the City and once again the emperor welcomed him.

12. Mehmed, in a state of anxiety, regarded the reversal of Fortune like a recoiling sling and said to the emperor, "O holy father, as you study and foresee the tipping of the scales, you do not allow me to be betrayed and handed over to the enemy although you observe my fortune is rising and falling. I contend that everything that is written by the finger of God on the forehead of each one must, by necessity, be fulfilled. Command me, therefore, to take my troops to Adrianople, and give me only the good wishes of a father to his son—as indeed I am. Let us leave to God the outcome of future events." The emperor listened, and embraced and kissed him. Manuel prepared a sumptuous banquet and the two men spent an enjoyable and pleasant evening together. At dawn, Mehmed left the City. He divided his army, directing one half to the regions of the Black Sea while the other half took the road to Adrianople. When Musa was informed that Mehmed had divided his army into two divisions, he pursued the one that had gone toward the Black Sea. When the two armies came to blows, Musa's troops were defeated and deserted en masse to Mehmed, who warmly welcomed them.¹¹⁷

13. Musa fled, beholding the fickleness of Fortune in his defeat. Unexpectedly he rode into a marsh, where he was followed in hot pursuit by one of Mehmed's satraps. Turning around, Musa slew him. The satrap's servant, arriving at the scene on horseback, cut off Musa's right arm from the shoulder and threw it into the marsh. Musa, with only one arm, fainted from the loss of blood and slipped from his horse. The satrap's servant rode back to the ruler and announced both his master's death and the wounding of Musa. They returned to the marsh, and found Musa was dead. Taking his body they brought it before Mehmed. When he viewed the remains, he mourned according to their savage custom and sent the corpse to be entombed in Prusa near his forefathers. When Mehmed returned to Adrianople and ascended his paternal throne, the preeminent princes of the West came daily and made him obeisance.

14. During those days when Musa was anxious and apprehensive about his brother Mehmed, Juneid, unnoticed, fled from the environs of Thrace. Furtively he crossed the Hellespont and came to Asia. After he had collected an army from Smyrna and Thyrea, he went to Ephesus and decapitated the governor whom Sulayman had appointed and installed there. Shortly Juneid became lord of all Asia, even before Mehmed had arrived in Thrace.

XX

1. When Emperor Manuel learned that Mehmed was now sole ruler, he dispatched his most illustrious officials as ambassadors to request that Mehmed surrender all the lands he had promised when he was staying in Constantinople. Mehmed welcomed them warmly and, drawing up solemn treaties, delivered to them all the fortresses along the Black Sea as well as the villages and fortresses of Thessaly, and everything along the Sea of Marmara. Lavishing kindnesses on them and loading them down with many gifts, he dismissed them in peace, charging them, "Go and tell my father, the Emperor of the Romans, that with God's help and the cooperation of my father and emperor, I have girded on my paternal power. Henceforth, I will be as obedient to him as a son to his father. I am not ungrateful nor shall I ever prove to be thankless. Let him command whatever he wills and I will serve him with the utmost joy."

2. Mehmed, in similar terms of amity, addressed the ambassadors of Serbia, Vlachia, Bulgaria, the duke of Ioannina, the despot of Lakedaimonia, and the prince of Achaia.¹¹⁸ Seating them as his table companions and toasting them all with loving cups of friendship, he dismissed them all in peace with the words, "Declare to your lords that I offer them all peace in return for peace. May the God of peace be against him who undermines peace."

3. Since Emperor Manuel had no fear of any immediate attack, he wished to arrange a wedding for his son John. He sent to the king of Russia,¹¹⁹ requesting his daughter for John's bride. He changed her name to Anna and gave her in marriage to his son. However, he did not wish at that time to crown her empress because the young girl was only eleven years old. Three years later when an epidemic struck the City and large numbers of the populace succumbed to the bubonic plague, the empress also died. She was greatly mourned by the Constantinopolitans.

4. Bayazid's eldest son, who was included among the hostages handed over by Sulayman to Emperor Manuel, was released with his sister Fatma and reared in Prusa. The other son¹²⁰ acquired a passion for Greek learning. He accompanied John, the emperor's son, to school and there as a student he was introduced to intellectual matters. So absorbed was he by the love of learning when he attended school with John that he came to Emperor Manuel and requested to be baptized according to Christian law. Daily he professed to the emperor that he was a Christian and not a believer in Muhammad's doctrines. The emperor did not wish to listen because it might cause scandal. Then when the dreaded disease continued to consume and destroy bodies, neither respecting nor sparing any age, it attacked Bayazid's adolescent son. The stricken youth sent the following message to Emperor John, "O Emperor of the Romans, you who are both master and father to me, my end is near. Against my wishes I must leave everything behind and depart for the Heavenly Tribunal. I confess that I am a Christian and I accuse you of not granting me the earnest of faith and the seal of the Spirit.¹²¹ Know, therefore, that as I must die unbaptized, I shall bring accusations against you before the Judgment Seat of the impartial God." Yielding finally to his plea, the emperor sent for him and as his godfather sponsored his baptism. He died the next day. The emperor buried him with great honor in a marble sarcophagus near the church and within the gate of the Studite Monastery of the Prodomos.¹²²

5. Approximately three years later, the emperor desired to acquire brides for both John and his second son Theodore. From Italy he brought the daughter of Theodore, Marquis of Montferrat, for his son John, and the daughter of Count Malatesta for Theodore. When Sophia of Montferrat arrived in Con-

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stantinople, the emperor joined her and John in lawful matrimony. Then he placed the diadems on their heads and proclaimed them Emperor and Empress of the Romans. He then gave Malatesta's daughter to Theodore in marriage and acclaimed Theodore despot of Lakedaimonia, investing him with the insignia of office.¹²³

6. Emperor John, however, was not pleased with his wife. The young woman was extremely well-proportioned in body. Her neck was shapely, her hair blondish with braids flowing down to her ankles like glimmering golden streams. Her shoulders were broad and her arms, bosom, and hands well proportioned. Her fingers were transparent. She was tall in stature and stood very straight—but her face and lips and the malformation of her nose and eyes and eyebrows presented a most revolting composition. In general, she may be described in the words of the vulgar adage: "Lent from the front and Easter from behind." When Emperor John saw how she looked, therefore, he had no sexual relations with her nor did he ever sleep with her. Consequently, she lived alone in one of the apartments of the palace. When the emperor first laid eyes on her, he wanted to send her back to Italy to her father's home, but because of his affection for his father, Emperor Manuel, he could not bring himself to do so. The empress, realizing that his feelings toward her would never change, decided to escape from the Romans which she did. She sent word to the Genoese of Galata revealing her plan for escaping. One day she left the City to visit a delightful garden for her enjoyment. She took along with her her ladies-in-waiting, her countrywomen who spoke the same language, and a few youths whom she had brought with her from her paternal home. Toward evening, the nobles of Galata, who had made ready a bireme, boarded and approached the shore. They respectfully took her on board and crossed to the opposite shore where the inhabitants came to greet her and, as servants, to make obeisance to her as their mistress and empress. Since evening had already fallen, the Constantinopolitans were totally unaware of the drama unfolding. When dawn broke, however, the palace officials were discomfited when they learned of the episode. Annoyed by the contemptuous behavior of the Genoese of Galata, they prepared to overrun and destroy their suburbs. Emperor Manuel, however, forbade it.¹²⁴

Emperor John, on the other hand, approved of what had taken place. An enormous Genoese merchant ship was ready to sail for Italy. As soon as the north wind began to blow, the empress went aboard and was received with honor and glory. The ship spread sail and came to Italy. Returning home with nothing but her crown, she remarked, "This is testimony that I was and am Empress of the Romans. I care not for precious treasure." When the nobles of Ferrara were apprised of her arrival at the borders of the province, they came to meet her with her brother, the marquis. She continued on her way and came to a certain monastery in which she chose to take up residence. She consecrated herself to God and remained cloistered to the end of her life.

7. Emperor John now dispatched ambassadors to Alexios Komnenos, the emperor of Trebizond, asking for the hand of his daughter Maria in marriage, for she was fair in form and manner. They escorted her to Constantinople where Patriarch Joseph united them in the customary rites of holy matrimony and she was acclaimed Empress of the Romans.¹²⁵

8. After the emperor boarded one of his many triremes, they sailed from Constantinople to the Peloponnesos where he subdued the Prince of Achaia and subjugated the descendants of the House of Navarre. He left his son Theodore to be despot of all the Peloponnesos, and returned to Constantinople.¹²⁶ On his return voyage he stopped at Gallipoli to meet with Mehmed. Mehmed showed such faith in the emperor that he boarded the imperial trireme and dined with him. The emperor, after receiving Mehmed and his companions with many gifts, departed and completed his return voyage with great satisfaction. All the inhabitants of Constantinople, together with the patriarch and senate, came to meet him; with acclamations and hymns they escorted him to the palace, thus concluding the ceremonies in honor of his return.

XXI

1. Mehmed who had established order in his western provinces and eliminated every cause which might lead to unrest, went to the East. When he came to Prusa, he rebuilt the buildings destroyed and put to the torch by Karaman. Thence he advanced into Asia. At the time Mehmed came to Constantinople and was struggling against Musa, Karaman left Ikonion with a military force and went to Prusa. He plundered the city, exhumed from the grave the bones of Bayazid, Mehmed's father, and consigned them to the flames. He did this because Bayazid in the past had beheaded Karaman's father in Ikonion.

2. Mehmed then moved into Asia and found that Juneid had increased the size of his dominion by annexing more territory. When Mehmed arrived at Pergamon in Asia, he sent a message to Juneid demanding that he cede the regions he had occupied there and depart from the province. With no intention whatsoever of complying, Juneid secured his fortresses and then waited for Mehmed to arrive. Advancing to Kyme, Mehmed demanded the surrender of the fortress because its warden was loyal to Juneid. Mehmed took it by assault, slew the defenders with the sword, and set free the inhabitants. Departing thence he came to the plain of Mainomenos where there was a well-defended fortress called the Fortress of the Archangel, which the Turks renamed Qayačiq. He subjugated it with a large force and with the discharge of missiles; then he moved on to Nymphaion and, taking it by assault, arrived before Smyrna. Juneid had diligently fortified the walls of Smyrna and brought into the city large numbers of troops. Moreover, he had made provisions for a large store of weapons, men, and other necessary supplies. He left his mother, his brother Bayazid, and his children in Smyrna, and marched to Ephesus.

3. Finding Juneid's son-in-law, the slave Abdullah, in Nymphaion (he was the warden of the fortress), Mehmed's soldiers seized him and presented him to Vizier Bayazid, that is, Mehmed's chief minister. He was second only to the ruler in

power and in freedom of action. Bayazid had been Mehmed's slave, but because of his extraordinary service Mehmed appointed him his majordomo. While Mehmed was still in Thrace, Bayazid wrote the following to Juneid: "If you wish to be uncontested lord of Ionia, give me the hand of your daughter in lawful marriage and I will be your son-in-law and you shall be my father-in-law. Henceforth, you will rule in peace." Juneid, flaunting his arrogance and overweening pride before the courier, asked his slave Abdullah who was present, "Whose slave are you?" Abdullah answered, "Your lordship's." Juneid asked again, "And of what nation?" Abdullah replied, "The Albanian." "Of what religion?" Abdullah responded, "Formerly I was an infidel but now I am a Musulman." To his nobles Juneid declared, "Behold, on this day, before you all, I give my daughter to be the lawful wife of my slave Abdullah. From this day forward I make him a free man and my son-in-law and relative." When all present had acclaimed Juneid, he addressed these words to the emissary, "Announce to your lord Bayazid that we have taken for a son-in-law an Albanian like himself, a redeemed slave like himself, having a master as powerful as himself, younger than himself, and wiser than himself." The emissary comprehended fully the implication of these words, and disclosed all that was said to his lord. Thereafter, the latter nourished an implacable hatred for Juneid. When Abdullah was apprehended in Nymphaion, Bayazid was given the opportunity for which he had been praying. He castrated him by cutting off his testicles.

4. We will now continue our history. When Mehmed came to Smyrna and surrounded the city, he found there the grand master of Rhodes¹²⁷ with three triremes, rebuilding, against the wishes of Juneid, the fortress which had been destroyed by Temir. The rulers of the surrounding islands, when they learned of Mehmed's arrival at Smyrna, hastened to greet him for two reasons: Mehmed's goodness and gentle nature and superior military strength, on the one hand, and Juneid's cunningness and rapacity, on the other. They came by land and by sea—the governors of Old and New Phokaia, Germiyan and upper Phrygia, Mentеше of Caria, the lords of Mitylene and Chios in their triremes, and the grand master of Rhodes also—all came to make him obeisance and to offer him assistance in

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destroying the tyrant. Mehmed embraced them as if they were his brothers. Ten days after the seige of Smyrna had begun, during which the islanders provided assistance as much as possible from the sea, Juneid's mother and wife and children came to make obeisance to Mehmed, pleading that they be forgiven for their transgressions. They surrendered Smyrna. Mehmed took possession of the city, and razed its walls in many places level with the ground. Then he partly dismantled its bulwarks and towers, and left the inhabitants to dwell within unprotected.

5. The grand master was erecting an enormous tower at the mouth of the harbor, which had already been raised above the halfway mark. The Turks, following Mehmed's orders, razed it to its foundations during the night. In the morning, when the master viewed what had taken place, he went to the ruler and complained vociferously. In a long discourse he set forth how the fortress had been built in the days of Aydin at the expense of Rhodes. He argued that if Mehmed did not give permission for its reconstruction, there would be resentment between his dominion and the most blessed pope. A great force would be dispatched from the nations of the West which would destroy his realm. Showing forbearance at these words, Mehmed replied good-naturedly (the chastisement and punishment suffered at the hands of the Scythians was still vivid in the minds of the Turks): "But father, I have tried to be magnanimous and generous to all the Christians of the world. The attribute of sovereignty is this: to reward the good and to punish the evil. The sovereign, however, must also concern himself with the interests of his subjects. When I came to these parts, many Muslims gave me cogent reasons for doing what I did. 'If Temir had done no good in Asia,' they argued, 'but to destroy and leave in ruins the fortress which is in Smyrna, he raised thereby a great memorial for himself in Ionia. By merely seeking refuge in that fortress, all those who served the Ionians in servitude won their freedom. Moreover, all who traveled the land routes and sailed the sea lanes into the open sea were bound like slaves in pirate ships, and between the Hospitalers and the Turks there was implacable hatred on both land and sea.' The impious Temir, therefore, was blessed for this. Now would you expect me to be more impious than that tyrant? I cannot do this.

However, let us do that which will satisfy both parties. I offer you as much land as you require along the borders of Caria and Lycia. Go and build whatever kind of fortress you desire." After giving careful consideration to these words, the grand master replied to Mehmed, "O Ruler, give me instead a portion of the lands under your dominion and send me not to foreign provinces." Mehmed responded, "But I do give you whatever is mine as I have awarded the province to Mentеше. Have no further concern." Requesting first a written decree which he received, he then departed. The Chians, Lesbians, and Phokaians followed suit. The ruler granted their petitions gladly and dismissed them in peace.

6. Juneid's mother continually implored Mehmed to release her son from death until he finally hearkened to her prayers. Juneid came forward and, making obeisance to Mehmed, pledged a solemn oath never again to incite to sedition but to live out the remainder of his life in good faith, and to hold and address the descendants of the Ottomans as lords and masters. Mehmed awarded Juneid's province to Alexander Šišman's son,¹²⁸ whom Mehmed had converted to his own impious faith, and ordered Juneid to accompany him to Thrace.

7. Mehmed returned to the West after establishing order in the East. When he came to Gallipoli, he fitted out a naval force against the duke of Naxos¹²⁹ and the Cyclades islands which were under his influence. He accused the duke of never having come to salute him, either earlier or while he was in Smyrna. A fleet of thirty triremes and biremes set sail from Gallipoli under Admiral Čali Beg. The Turks took captive many of the inhabitants of the islands of Andros, Paros and Melos; after inflicting great damage, the fleet returned home.

8. When the Venetians learned what had happened, they were determined to retaliate because the duke had long ago submitted to the Venetians and was flying their standard. When spring arrived, they fitted out ten triremes to patrol the Adriatic Sea, Euboea, Crete, and the Cyclades islands. Seven of the triremes, arriving at Tenedos, decided to engage the enemy by sailing into the Hellespont and crossing to Lampsakos. The Turkish triremes were standing in the harbor of Gallipoli ready to move out. Spying a small sailing vessel coming from Constantinople, the Venetians, who thought it was a Turkish ship, sent one of their triremes to seize it. The Turks observed this

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action and, assuming that the pursued ship was one of theirs, dispatched one of their own triremes to defend it. In fact, it was a Lesbian ship sailing from Constantinople. When the Venetians saw the Turkish triremes moving out like the links of a chain strung out, they bore down upon them, and sounding the attack, joined battle. Ramming first the trireme of Admiral Çali Beg, they hacked him to pieces and slaughtered mercilessly everyone on board. Then they boarded one trireme after the other, overpowering all the ships, and proceeded mercilessly to cut down the Turks before the eyes of their wives and children who were watching the battle taking place about a mile from the shore of Gallipoli. The Venetians stopped fighting when evening fell. Spreading the sails of the captured Turkish triremes, some twenty-seven in number, as well as their own, they sailed to the island of Tenedos. They anchored in the harbor to make a detailed investigation in which they set the Turks apart, and then slew them.¹³⁰ Next they interrogated the Christians, allowing those whom the Turks had pressed into service to live, while all those who served for profit and gain, they impaled in Tenedos. To behold gibbets all over the island like vines with those hanging thereon like clusters of grapes was a spectacle indeed! The Venetians then sailed to Crete, releasing a portion of the impressed Christian rowers and setting the others free either in Euboea or in Venice.

9. With the passing of winter and the coming of spring, the Venetian triremes sailed once again into the Hellespont to seize the tower which Sulayman had erected in Lampsakos. Although they discharged missiles from their ships, they were still unable to make a landing. Hamza, the brother of the vizier Bayazid, kept watch with an army of more than ten thousand men. The Venetians, unable to achieve their purpose, sailed thence to Constantinople, leaving the tower half-shattered. The roof, shot through with holes from top to bottom like a sieve, had collapsed. Once the triremes had moved out, Hamza ordered the Turks to raze the tower to its foundations, remarking, "Without gain it is not meet to reap shame."

10. Mehmed who had sent Juneid to Gallipoli, awarded him the government of the regions of Nikopolis near the Danube river, ordering him to guard the borders diligently and to champion the cause of the Muslims.

11. In those days there appeared near the mountain

situated at the entrance of the bay of Ionia commonly called Stylarion, and to the east opposite Chios, a simple-minded Turkish peasant. He taught the Turks that they must own no property and decreed that, with the exception of women, everything must be shared in common—provisions, clothing, yokes of beasts, and fields. "I shall have access to your house as though it were mine and you shall have access to my house as though it were yours, with the exception of the female members." After he had duped the peasants with this doctrine, he guilefully sought to win the friendship of the Christians. He expounded the doctrine that anyone among the Turks who contended that the Christians are not God-fearing, is himself ungodly. The followers of his teaching, when meeting a Christian, would offer him hospitality and honor him as an angel of Zeus. Daily he sent apostles to the lords of Chios and to the clergy of the Church, explaining to them his doctrine that the only way for all to be saved is by being in accord with the faith of the Christians. It so happened that at that time an old Cretan anchorite was living on the island in the monastery called Troulоти. This pseudo-monk, dispatching to the anchorite two of his apostles wearing only simple tunics, their uncovered heads shaved bald, and their feet without sandals, declared, "I am a fellow ascetic who adores the same God you worship. This night I shall walk barefoot over the sea to be with you." Taken in by the false monk, the true monk began to relate absurd things on his behalf, "When I was on the island of Samos, devoting myself to God, he became my fellow monk, and now, day after day, he crosses over and converses with me." He related other marvelous deeds to me, the writer of this history.

12. Šišman's son, the governor of Mehmed's province, assembled an army and marched against the false monk, but was unable to cross the narrows of Stylarion. The Stylarians, comprising a force of more than six thousand men, took their positions along the rugged defiles and slaughtered all of Šišman's troops and Šišman with them. Then the followers of Bürklüdje Mustafa (for this was his name), confirming their regard for the false monk and extolling him as one greater than a prophet, set forth the doctrine that one must not cover the head with a hat, which they call a *zerkulah*, and that one must

go through life wearing only a simple tunic and bareheaded, adhering to Christian beliefs rather than to Turkish.

13. Mehmed next ordered the Governor of Lydia, Ali Beg, to march against the Stylarians with all the forces of Lydia and Ionia. Once again the Stylarian peasants, taking their positions at the entrances to the narrow defiles, allowed most of the enemy troops to pass through and then slaughtered them. Barely escaping with his life, Ali Beg fled to Magnesia with a handful of survivors.

14. When Mehmed learned of the tragic outcome, he dispatched his twelve-year-old son, Murad, with Bayazid the vizier at the head of the Thracian army. His forces, augmented with Bithynians, Phrygians, Lydians, and Ionians, penetrated into those rugged parts. They mercilessly struck down everyone in sight, the old as well as infants, men, and women; in a word, they massacred everyone, regardless of age, as they advanced to the mountain defended by the dervishes. A battle with much slaughter was now in progress. Murad sustained enormous losses, but the Stylarians finally surrendered together with the false monk. They were bound and brought to Ephesus where Bürklüdje Mustafa¹³¹ was subjected to manifold tortures. He remained, however, unbending and unyielding in his delusion. And so they crucified him. Sitting him on a camel with his hands outstretched, affixed to planks by nails, he was paraded through the center of the city. Because his disciples refused to renounce their teacher's doctrine, they were all slaughtered before his eyes. Welcoming death gladly, they were heard to murmur: *dede sultan eriş*, that is, "O Lord Father, hasten to us." For sometime the belief was held by many of his disciples that he had not died but was still alive. After these events, I happened to meet the Cretan monk, mentioned above. I interrogated him about this matter and asked him what did he actually believe had happened to Bürklüdje Mustafa. He told me that Bürklüdje Mustafa had not died but had gone to the island of Samos where he continued to live his former existence. I neither believed him nor entertained his delusions.

15. Bayazid took young Murad and traversed Asia and Lydia, putting to death all the Turkish monks whom he met on the way who were living in voluntary poverty. He crossed Phrygia and the straits to Adrianople where he presented the

son, Murad, to his father, Mehmed, as a trophy-bearing conqueror. At this time Mehmed awarded the government of Amaseia and Cappadocia to Murad. Since Murad was too young to rule in his own name, he appointed from the nobles and functionaries Yiorgiĉ Beg to govern.

XXII

1. In that same year, the grand master fitted out a fleet of three biremes and several galleys. He loaded them with all kinds of building materials, such as unslaked lime, cornerstones, timber, planks, and anything else needed for the construction of a fortress, and went to the borders of the province of Caria. Here on a promontory he erected a fortress in honor of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, naming it Petronion. When he had laid down strong foundations and begun to erect the walls, the Mentеше Ilyas Beg arrived with a large force determined to obstruct the work under way, but he accomplished nothing. After the grand master had completed the fortress to his satisfaction, to which he had added skyscraping towers, he returned to Rhodes but only after installing Hospitalers within as sentinels. He charged the custodians of the fortress to be sober and vigilant according to law and custom and to take care of escaped captives by offering them help and safety inside the fortress and, furthermore, by emancipating them in writing in the name of St. Peter. The fortress survives to this day.

2. With the coming of spring Mehmed assembled his western army and, marching out of Adrianople, crossed the straits and advanced to Prusa. He notified the governors of the East to join him there with all their troops, and then hastened to Lykaonia. His purpose was to avenge the terrible crimes perpetrated by Karaman in Prusa—the disgraceful exhumation of his forefathers' remains and the consuming of the ancestral bones by fire. He put many towns and villages to the torch on

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his way to Ikonion. When that city fell, Karaman fled to the mountains of Syria. He dispatched envoys to Mehmed, to plead for him as a suppliant that his transgressions be forgiven. Mehmed, moved by his entreaties, returned his province to him. Karaman pledged a solemn oath that he would be a faithful and responsible friend forever and would never again invade Ottoman territory.¹³² Terminating his campaign, Mehmed returned to Prusa; thence he crossed the straits and entered Adrianople.

3. While Mehmed was residing in Adrianople, he learned that his youngest brother, Mustafa, Bayazid's son, was in Vlachia.¹³³ His first response was to dispatch two of his most responsible servants to behead Juneid. But they could not find him. Two days before, Juneid had crossed the Danube and, joining Mustafa, had pledged to assist him and to suffer with him and to install him as ruler over both the West and the East. Apprised of Juneid's flight, Mehmed was unwilling to suffer injury at his hands. He amassed a huge army, and marched from Thrace to Macedonia. When he was informed that Mustafa and Juneid had recrossed the Danube with a large army of Turks and Vlachs, and that they were descending on the regions of Thessaly, Mehmed led his troops in that direction. When the armies made contact with each other near Thessaloniki and forthwith joined battle, Mehmed was victorious and pursued Mustafa and Juneid right up to the gates of Thessaloniki. The citizens offered them assistance and they fought back with a small force. When evening fell, Mustafa and Juneid unwillingly entered the city. Demetrios Laskaris Leontarios¹³⁴ welcomed them and consoled them with the thought that they should take courage in the face of Fortune's fickleness. Moreover, they need not be apprehensive that they would be surrendered to Mehmed if Thessaloniki fell to the Turks. Relieved by the promises made by Demetrios, they dined and retired to get some sleep.

4. In the morning Mehmed dispatched one of his chief officials to Leontarios with the following message: "You know full well the amity and the inseparable friendship binding me to the emperor of the Romans. Do not seek, therefore, to tear it into tatters and in the end to destroy it, thus bringing harm to the entire Roman nation, by introducing between us and the Romans an implacable hatred. Hand over to me instead the prey I pursue. If you refuse to do this, then I shall bid adieu to

friendship and espouse enmity, and shortly I will conquer the City and take captive her citizens. Your life too I will take, and then my enemies will be in my hands." Lord Demetrios, being a very prudent man, replied in writing: "You are aware, Your Majesty, that I am no master but only a servant, a servant not only of the emperor of the Romans but yours as well, as you have sworn to be his son. It is an obligation incumbent upon me, therefore, to execute and consummate your command. However, this too is my duty: to inform the emperor of these developments. It is no poor Turk who has sought refuge in the emperor's court, pursued like a partridge by a falcon. I have been informed that he is your own brother. And even were he but a common fellow I still could not hand him over to you unless the emperor so commanded. For this reason I humbly implore you to be patient a little while longer. At this very hour I am apprising the emperor of what has happened. Let him command as he sees fit and I will execute his decree."

5. Mehmed agreed that the message should be delivered. He also wrote the emperor his sentiments and requested that these events should not become a cause for offense. Emperor Manuel responded by writing the following to Mehmed: "You know full well that I have promised to be a father to you, and that you have promised to be a son to me. If we both keep our promises then, lo, we shall have feared God and kept His commandments! If we, on the other hand, break them, then, lo, the father will be a traitor to his son and the son will be called his father's murderer! For myself, I will keep the oaths. You, however, do not wish to abide by them. Let God who avenges the wronged be the righteous judge. As for the fugitives, I am unable to issue the order to surrender them into your hands. Such a deed befits not an emperor but a tyrant. Were our roles reversed and I were the one pursuing my brother, and were he, as he fled, to seek refuge under your wings, you too, at my demand, would not hand him over to me to be killed. And if you did perchance surrender him, you would be guilty of committing an inhuman act by becoming both traitor and murderer. Be certain of this: never shall such a despicable deed be perpetrated by me. However, as I have committed myself to perform the duty of father to you, I swear to you by the one God who is praised in the Trinity by us Christians, that neither

the fugitive Mustafa nor his companion Juneid will ever be discharged from prison until your life and sovereignty have come to an end in this world. After your death we will let matters take their course. If you are unwilling, do as you like." Manuel next wrote the following instructions to Demetrios Leontarios: "After reading my orders, execute them directly. Place the refugees Mustafa and Juneid and their followers in a trireme and send them to us posthaste. Do no more than I have commanded you." After reflecting on possible future developments if he opposed the emperor, and being assured that as long as he lived neither Mustafa nor Juneid would be released from custody, Mehmed lifted his siege of Thessaloniki. Relieved now of the many cares and anxieties which the appearance of Mustafa and Juneid had afflicted on him, he returned to Adrianople. Fitting out a trireme, Lord Demetrios Leontarios put the two men on board and sent them to the emperor. Shortly afterwards the emperor exiled Mustafa to the island of Lemnos, commanding his escort to guard him diligently. Juneid was provided with quarters in the Monastery of the Pammakaristos¹³⁵ where he lived in seclusion. The emperor dispatched ambassadors to Mehmed to request that he assume the expenses for the support of Mustafa and Juneid because there were thirty youths held in detention with the former and ten with the latter. Mehmed accordingly agreed to pay the emperor out of his own resources the annual sum of three hundred thousand silver coins. In return, he received solemn pledges that Mustafa would not be released during the lifetime of Mehmed. Once Mehmed died, the emperor would be free to choose whatever course was advantageous to him on the basis of the actions of Mehmed's successors toward him. The ambassadors received Mehmed's solemn compact, confirmed in writing, and departed.¹³⁶

6. Mehmed harbored hatred for the Vlachs because they supported Mustafa, so he dispatched to their country a large force which pillaged, burned, and devastated large areas.

7. After these events, Mehmed began covertly to harbor hatred for the City. He did not, however, reveal these deeply hidden sentiments. In those days there was a man from the city of Philadelphia, a man who, in faith, was a Christian; in fortune, a magistrate of the city of Philadelphia; and, in deed, wicked

and treacherous. At the time of the Scythian invasion he betrayed, as one of the chief officials, many Christians into the hands of the impious enemy with the excuse that because they were rich, they should pay Temir the prescribed tribute. Since they did not have it to give, the barbarians consigned them to the flames. The archbishop of Philadelphia was subjected to many torments and tortures to compel him to abjure the Christian faith. When the man came to Constantinople, he was friendly with one of the palace officials and frequently accompanied him to the palace. One day there was an urgent need in the palace for an interpreter. He eagerly volunteered his services and the words spoken by the Turks he translated into Greek, for he was extremely well-versed in the Turkish language. Therefore, the emperor's ambassadors always took with them Theologos (for that was his name) because of his thorough knowledge of Turkish. Whenever an embassy was sent on various missions, Theologos frequently accompanied the ambassadors. In the course of these diplomatic missions, Theologos became acquainted with Bayazid, Mehmed's vizier. Subsequently, he became a close friend and had daily access to him. The secrets he picked up from the Romans, he would whisper into the ears of Bayazid. In turn, since he had displayed such unequivocal loyalty to the Turks, he would receive information from them. So favored was he by great good fortune that he became the emperor's ambassador-at-large and a frequent dinner companion of both Bayazid and Mehmed. Later the rumor was heard that Theologos did not really work for the good of the Romans. Since it was feared that Mustafa might escape from the City, he was exiled to Lemnos. Other developments followed: for instance, the grain allowance and the promised monies to defray Mustafa's expenses were held back, from time to time, by the Turks. When the emperor had his ambassadors bring this to the attention of the Turks, nothing was done until Theologos arrived and only then would the issue be resolved. Consequently, the Romans had grievous suspicions about him. Emperor Manuel never suspected anything or if he did he never showed it.

8. But as God, the wise architect and fashioner of all things, destroys in a fleeting moment the edifice which had stood firm and secure, and raises up the building which had

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been razed, so were the designs of Theologos or rather *thologos*¹³⁷ undone—if what was said by many at that time is true and as the outcome demonstrates. While hunting one day on horseback, Mehmed spied a wild boar rushing out of the thicket, and as he pointed his spear at the beast, he suddenly slipped from his horse because of an epileptic seizure. He was lifted up and carried back to the palace for he had been hunting in the environs of Adrianople. The most experienced physicians were summoned from near and far, and they quickly revived him. The entire army was extremely apprehensive and demanded to see the ruler. In the morning, the troops were ordered on parade, and according to their custom Mehmed was brought outside. When they saw him, they all saluted and rejoiced. The next day, however, he suffered a second epileptic seizure. Unable to move his tongue to speak, as he lay on his bed that evening, he died. The greater part of Mehmed's reign had been spent in peace with the emperor of the Romans, and, in fact, with all the Christian nations except the Venetians. He died peacefully in Adrianople within the palace he had built, after a brief illness.¹³⁸ He was granted a different death from that which Fortune had decreed for his forebears, some of whom were poisoned, while others were strangled or slain by the sword. He was overlooked by Atropo,¹³⁹ I suppose, because of his genuine friendship with the emperors and his sympathy for the subjects of Christ.

9. Before Mehmed took the road to Hades from whence there is no return, he made provision for his eldest son to succeed him as ruler of the Turks. Murad was his name and at that time he was the governor of Amaseia and its confines. His father had assigned him the administration of the border areas along the frontiers of the Turko-Persians who were ruled by Kara-Yülük. His lands also adjoined those of the Lazi and the Persians. He was married to the daughter of Alexios Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond.¹⁴⁰ The inhabitants of Amaseia, becoming seditious, rioted frequently, calling in the Turko-Persians who were of the same race and culture. Mehmed deemed it necessary to entrust the province to his son and to install him as lord in these border areas in order to neutralize the Persians by military might. Thus, he, on the one hand, pointed the spear from Adrianople at the Romans, Hungarians, Vlachs, Serbs, and

Bulgarians so that subject peoples throughout Asia and Thrace, on the other hand, could dwell in prosperity.

10. Murad Beg [II, 1421–1451] came to power in a time of trouble and confusion and he received the crown of wild olives with tremendous tumult and terrible devastation, as we will show. At the time his father was taken ill, he summoned the chief of his nobles whom they call *vizier* and *pasha* in their language and whom the Romans call *patricius* and *mesazon*. The man's name was Bayazid. He was an Albanian who from childhood had been allotted a slave's fate. Subsequently, he became Mehmed Beg's companion in both good and evil times. At the time Temir had slain Mehmed's father, the youthful Mehmed was being pursued by Temir and the Persians in the mountains of Galatia in the vicinity of Ankara where the great battle, described above, took place. Subjected to the many dangers and hardships of exile and pursuit, Bayazid shared with him his joys and sorrows. How did he do this? As they made their way on foot together, Mehmed, a boy at the time, could not bear the hardships of the road and could no longer walk because of the swelling of his feet. Bayazid like a Libyan ass carried him on his shoulders on a journey which lasted many days until he brought him back safely to his father's realm. Often Bayazid would deprive himself of food. Slipping into the villages in the guise of a dervish,¹⁴¹ he begged everywhere for bread. In this way he was able to feed Mehmed, thus proving himself a good and faithful servant. Truly, there was no other like him. When Mehmed, therefore, became a man and inherited his father's dominion, he rewarded Bayazid according to the words of our Lord, "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things!"¹⁴² He appointed him majordomo and master of all his lands. Bayazid was another Prometheus. While Mehmed was still alive and ruling in peace, Bayazid governed the realm effectively to the best of his ability. He directed the entire administration of both Asia and Thrace, as well as matters pertaining to the army and armaments, to the state of peace and war, and to all military engagements. When Mehmed fell ill, he summoned Bayazid and drew up his last will and testament to dispose of all his personal possessions. He exhorted Bayazid in the name of God and their Prophet and by the bread and salt provided him for his sustenance—that is, for

Bayazid's support—to be as faithful a servant to his son Murad as he was to him, and to deliver to Murad his paternal dominion by installing him as lord of his father's house. Mehmed further decreed that his other two children (at that time Murad was an adolescent, while his two brothers were eight and seven years old) should be delivered into the hands of Emperor Manuel as their guardian. He did this because he was afraid that Murad would strangle them to death, which is their custom, and was the case. After he had duly drawn up his testament, Mehmed was confident that when he died, the affairs of state would be resolved peacefully among his children, but this was not the case. He argued to himself as follows: "With my two sons in the hands of the emperor, Murad will reign over his subjects without disorder and turmoil because the seditionists will have no one to raise up in opposition. The children, moreover, will be saved from unjust murder and the ruler will provide enough to support them generously." With the hostages in his hands, the emperor proposed to keep Murad's friendship loyal and pure—like Herakles terrifying the dog by means of the clubs.¹⁴³ If the threads of Murad's destiny, moreover, started to unravel at any time, the emperor would promote as ruler one of the hostages who would be well-known to him and who could easily be manipulated, like a well-fed serpent in his bosom. And if it treacherously lashed out, since nature is immutable, it would not discharge all its venom in its bite. Dreaming such thoughts the emperor rejoiced, but the Fortune of the Romans, looking into the future, only groaned.

11. When Mehmed Beg died in Adrianople in the palace he had built, his corpse lay unburied for forty days in his apartment. No one knew that he had expired except four men, Bayazid and Ibrahim, the patricians or viziers, and two physicians. The latter would enter daily and when they came out, they would engage in idle chatter with the nobles, informing them that the ruler was ill and needed certain therapeutic medicines. The many men dispatched to Serbia, Constantinople, and the islands to find effective medicines for Mehmed's recovery was indeed astonishing. A potion was prepared by the physicians to evacuate the bowels of their patient and to bring relief to both lung and liver. As Mehmed was about to drink it, his belly ruptured, and his viscera were buried in the earth

inside the room where he lay. They anointed his body with myrrhs and, winding a sheet about it, placed the corpse on a bed as though Mehmed were alive but ill. All these things were performed by the two viziers and the palace servants who neither left the palace nor engaged anyone in conversation. The reason is that if the surrounding nations learned of the ruler's death—Romans, Serbs, Genoese, Venetians, and Karaman in the East—Murad would be unable to return from the borders of Persia. The problem of succession would create turmoil, the army would revolt, and Karaman would mercilessly plunder all the East while the Christians, in their turn, would despoil the territories of Thrace. Thus, the Turks would reap misfortune and the Romans, good fortune.

XXIII

1. Accordingly, a courier was dispatched to apprise Murad of his father's death. At the time he was residing in Amaseia. Forty days later the courier returned with the information that Murad had arrived at a village called Melaina somewhere near Prusa. He delivered letters from Murad announcing his arrival at Prusa and instructing Bayazid to take his father's corpse and proceed to Prusa with the entire senate in order both to bury his father and to proclaim Murad ruler.

2. When he received Murad's letters, Bayazid rejoiced. The next day he sat on a raised platform with all the commanders and nobles. Many citizens were present, and he addressed them: "It is not necessary to remind you, men, or to lecture you on how we have been raised from our former humble station to a great destiny with God's sanction through the intercession of the Prophet. You know full well—some were eyewitnesses and some heard it from their parents—that about sixty years ago the followers of Othman crossed the straits and seized all of Thrace. The Romans and Serbs were reduced to vassalage and compelled to

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pay tribute. The Vlachs beyond the Danube, the many Hungarians, the Albanians, and the Bulgarians were humbled. So many were taken captive that the public taxes were no longer sufficient to cover the annual tribute demanded by us. Moreover, they servilely sent their daughters and sons to our rulers while begging for mercy and compassion, for an end to their tribulations, and for peace on our part! Despite the power and dignity of their dominion, the Ottoman rulers wisely and prudently selected the most wretched and rural elements from the nations who do not worship the one God proclaimed by the Prophet and made them God-fearing and victorious officers and illustrious governors. I myself am one of those and so are most of you listening to my words. We must, therefore, be neither remiss nor indolent but sober and vigilant. Let each of us fight as though he were a true son of Othman so that we may not lose our paternal inheritance through negligence. As Mehmed was father and master, benefactor and dispenser of all good things so now is his successor Murad, the first and most beloved of his sons, who has ascended the throne of his father in the megalopolis of Prusa. His father, our master, is dead." When Bayazid finished his address, he wailed aloud, groaning and shedding tears. The nobles and pall-bearers wept with him and in unison they rent the air with their loud lamentations. Then Bayazid and Ibrahim took the corpse and placed it in the palace courtyard. After an extended period of mourning, the eastern troops were ordered to prepare to march on the following day to Gallipoli. The nobles and Bayazid followed on foot carrying the remains. Crossing the straits, they conveyed Mehmed's corpse to Prusa and laid it in the sepulcher he had built. An eight-day mourning period was then ordained.

3. The memorial rites were observed according to the custom, and after the period of mourning was concluded, Murad was proclaimed ruler. When the festivities were appropriately celebrated, and Murad had lavishly rewarded the chief officials with many favors and benefactions, and they, in turn, had made obeisance with gifts, they concerned themselves with affairs of state. Murad immediately dispatched ambassadors to Karaman and the Emperor of the Romans, announcing Mehmed's death and Murad's accession. They carried out the custom among new rulers and suzerains and renewed past

pledges of peace. To stabilize conditions in the East, they exchanged treaties and solemn pledges with Karaman. Murad and his officials were now free to cross the straits and to deal with the problems of Thrace.

4. Quick to seize the opportunity, Emperor Manuel dispatched Lachanas¹⁴⁴ Palaiologos and Theologos Korax as his ambassadors to Murad, ostensibly to console him for his father's death and to congratulate him on the inauguration of his reign. His primary purpose, however, was to remind Murad of his father's last will and testament in which he requested that his two remaining sons be entrusted to the care of the emperor. If Murad desired to continue in the bonds of concord and love with the emperor as his father had done before him, then he must honor his father's last wish. If Murad, however, refused to deliver his brothers to the emperor and to abide by his father's provisions, Manuel threatened to install another in Murad's place as ruler of Macedonia, the Chersonese, and all of Thrace. Soon he would be the ruler of Asia and all the East as well. He had Mustafa in mind. Speaking on behalf of the youthful ruler, Bayazid responded to the ambassadors: "It is not good or consonant with the Prophet's ordinances that the children of Muslims be nurtured and educated by *gavurs*"; in other words, that children of the pious be tutored by infidels. "However, if the emperor so wishes, let him accept our love and let him continue to be, as stated in the original compacts, friend and father of the orphans but without any tutelary obligation. And we shall deem his friendship a godsend and the supreme confirmation of our rule. We shall, moreover, take care that nothing adverse intrude between us and that none of us will transgress our common borders. Between us, therefore, let our solemn pledges stand like an iron wall and an impregnable bastion. Any consideration of the petitioner's request for possession and guardianship of the children is impossible. To grant this request is even more impossible."

5. After they had been dismissed with these words, the imperial ambassadors repeated everything to the emperor who understood the implication.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, he was deeply troubled. He recalled the agreement he had made with Mustafa, whom he had exiled to the island of Lemnos, and decided to summon Demetrios Laskaris Leontarios. The latter, it should be noted,

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was a brave general who had been highly esteemed in both Lakedaimonia and Thessaly at the time John Palaiologos, the emperor's nephew, reigned in those parts. Demetrios had received the highest honors from him. When John died, Manuel crowned his third son despot of Thessaly and recalled Leontarios, who was stationed in Constantinople, because of his expertise in military affairs.

6. Emperor Manuel enjoyed the good fortune of having six sons. He crowned his first son, John, emperor of the Romans. He installed his second son, Theodore, despot of Lakedaimonia. The third son, Andronikos, was appointed despot of Thessaly. The fourth son, Constantine, received for his portion the lands along the Black Sea. The fifth son, Demetrios, and the sixth, Thomas, were still children and were living with their father.

7. Concerned by the urgency of the matter, Manuel placed Demetrios Laskaris at the head of a fleet of ten triremes and sent him from Constantinople to the island of Lemnos with orders to pick up the exiled Mustafa and to release him and also Juneid in the Chersonese. He was further instructed to install Mustafa as ruler of Thrace because he was the true son of the deceased Bayazid and, therefore, heir to his father's possessions, lands, and provinces. Leontarios carried out his instructions. It is an ancient custom among the Turks not to probe too deeply into the parentage of each other. It was imperative only that the ruler be the descendant of Othman. Otherwise, it would be impossible to obey and honor him.

8. I shall now explain the ancient design of the Turks. It endures to the present time, and because of it they bravely overcome Christians and win trophies and enjoy more victories than any other nation. When the Turks swooped down from Persia, crossed the borders of Armenia, and began to pillage the lands of upper Cappadocia and Lykaonia, the ruler dispatched a herald to invite anyone who so wished to join them in the attack against the infidels. The nation of the Turks, more than any other, is a lover of rapine and injustice. This is true even against their own kinsmen; if their attacks are aimed at Christians, what more need be said? If they hear the herald's voice summoning them to the attack—which in their language is called *aqin*¹⁴⁶—they descend like a flooding river, uninvited, the

majority without purse and food pouch and without spears and swords. Countless others come running, swelling the number of troops, the majority of them carrying nothing but a club in their hands. They rush against the Christians and seize them like sheep, and God Himself cast His vote against us in His ineffable judgments because of the multitude of our nation's sins. Because of the constant attacks of the Turks, which have continued to our own times, they have occupied not only the eastern provinces but also Thrace. They have subjugated, moreover, all the lands from the Chersonese to the Danube. A day never passed without bringing them some advantage. One day they would cunningly negotiate a peace treaty with the Serbs, and on the next they would plunder the lands of Attica, Lakedaimonia, Achaia, and Hellas.¹⁴⁷ On the following day they would compel the Romans to sign a peace pact to their advantage, and then lamentations and cries of woe would engulf the Serbs. Then it would be the turn of the Bulgars and Albanians. In this manner, the barbarians have despoiled every savage and civilized nation. They continue to do so to this very day, and they will continue to do so, I suppose, until we receive the fear of God in our hearts. By desecrating the divine, and by scorning our baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the One Deity, we have transgressed the commandments of the one true God. God has rightly and justly ordained that we should be delivered to the impious to be chastised by them.

Not only did they completely humble the populous nations on this side of the Danube but they also brought the Vlachs beyond the Danube to their knees, and decimated the Hungarians whose numbers were beyond reckoning. It was not only the neighboring Turks who overran their lands, that is, the Turks of Thrace, Attica, Illyricum, Mount Haemus, and the borders of Serbia (this race—I speak of the ruler's subject people descended from Othman—can be found today from the straits of Gallipoli to the Danube in greater numbers than in the eastern regions) but also the Turks from Asia and Phrygia, the Lykaonians and the inhabitants along the borders of Armenia, the Amasenians, the Cappadocians, the Cilicians, the Lycians, and the Carians; all made their way on foot to the Danube and their single purpose was to take Christians captive. By the

hundreds of thousands they invade a province, plunder and pillage everything, and then depart. All of Thrace as far as Dalmatia they left desolate. They decimated the Albanians, a nation beyond number, and the Vlachs, and they devastated the Serbs and Romans.

9. According to Turkish law,¹⁴⁸ one fifth of the captive Christians was assigned to the ruler as his portion of the spoils, and he was given first choice. The young and robust captives were purchased by the ruler for the cheapest price and classified as the sovereign's adopted sons and slaves. The ruler named them "the new troops" which in their tongue is translated *yeniçeri* ("Janissaries"). Circumcising and converting them to his impious faith, he appointed them his household troops and rewarded them with many gifts and the most illustrious offices, with valuable provisions and treasures of all kinds. He allowed them to be his eating and drinking companions. He doted on them as a father dotes on his children. And who were the recipients of these benefactions? Goatherds and shepherds, cowherds and swineherds, farmers' children and horsekeepers. In gratitude for such generosity they think nothing of sacrificing their lives for their ruler. So that they would not fall from the glory to which they have been raised by chance, they sustain superhuman suffering in time of battle and consequently win the victory. Their distinctive emblem is their headdress which in the common language of the Romans is called *zerkulah*. All Turks usually wear this for a head covering. However, both commoners and nobles wear a red-colored headdress, while foreigners who have succumbed to the yoke of slavery and are registered as slaves of the ruler wear a white-colored headgear made of the whitest felt, hemispherical in shape, snugly fitting the head, being as much as a span above the crown, and tapering to a point. This army of "new troops," moreover, increases every year and now numbers ten thousand.¹⁴⁹ The slaves acquire slaves, and the slaves of the slaves acquire slaves, and all are called slaves of the ruler. Among them could be found neither Turk nor Arab, but all of them without exception were Christians—Romans, Serbs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Vlachs, and Hungarians. Now that they have abjured their faith and delight in the pleasures of the present as swine relish their greens, like rabid dogs they bear an implacable and mortal

hatred against our compatriots. I have already stated that a subject easily transfers his allegiance from one ruler to another so long as both the old and the new sovereign is descended from the line of Othman. The same was true for the regiment of slaves whose history we have recounted. They adhered to the same principle: the new ruler need only be a descendant of Othman. The Janissaries looked upon the Ottoman rulers as their patrons and the latter treated them as their own freedmen. When it concerned the succession of one Ottoman ruler to another or of father to son or of brother to brother, the regiment of slaves faithfully served him whom Fortune favored.

Let us now resume our history where we began our digression.

XXIV

1. Having picked up both Mustafa, Yildirim's son, and Juneid, Demetrios first secured from Mustafa his solemn pledge that he would never transgress the imperial will. He promised always to obey the emperor as a son obeys his father and to deliver into his hands his own son as a pledge of good faith. It was further agreed that he would deliver to the emperor Gallipoli in the Chersonese, the Black Sea territories as far as the borders of Vlachia, the lands of Thessaly as far as Ierissos, the Holy Mount, and finally certain impregnable fortresses. After these agreements were bound by sacred oaths, Demetrios set sail and brought them to Gallipoli.

2. Murad's officers, who had secured the fortress, ordered the skiffs and triremes brought into the harbor. After the troops were deployed along the tower which was located in the harbor, they waited for the battle to begin. Demetrios initiated hostilities by landing Juneid and his few Turks and a large Roman army. The lightly armed Gasmouloi¹⁵⁰ troops of Gallipoli and the militia, fighting hand to hand, were unable to resist Juneid because the man was courageous and more experi-

enced in warfare than any Turk of his time. Reluctantly, the city's defenders turned around and fled. When Mustafa beheld what was happening, he bravely and boldly disembarked from the triremes. Fighting furiously until evening, Mustafa and Demetrios boarded the imperial trireme. While they both sat in the stern, Mustafa requested his opponents to stand facing him without fear, assuring them that he only wished to exchange a few words with them for the city's benefit. He then addressed them: "Men, you know very well that I am Yildirim's son and that you are my father's servants. Why is it that you refuse to accord your lord the honor owed him? Do you not know that the former ruler was my brother? By murdering our brother Murad unjustly usurped the throne and made me a fugitive and prisoner in Roman hands. Since God has now given me His sanction, and Fortune has gladly undertaken to restore to me my father's dominion, why is it that you resist her and obstruct her way? If you should, however, assent and step aside so that the way leading to Adrianople and my paternal home is open to me, you will, henceforth, no longer be servants but brothers to me. Furthermore, I shall cherish a paternal affection for you, and I shall bestow upon you favors upon favors and gifts upon gifts beyond measure. If you choose to resist, I will, nonetheless, become master of my paternal inheritance with the help of Fortune and the assistance of my father, the emperor. The road leading to the western lands is no longer open to Murad. When I become lord of what is mine, the opportunity will then be granted me to pronounce judgment on you." Convinced by Mustafa's words, several of the leading officials came forward of their own accord and made obeisance. Others followed. The next morning Mustafa disembarked from the triremes with Juneid and their force of heavily armed Romans and Turks. Mounting their horses, they sounded the charge for battle. The entire populace, both troops and citizens, forthwith made obeisance and acclaimed Mustafa ruler in the line of Othman. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages poured into Gallipoli during the day, making obeisance and acclaiming Mustafa. Mustafa assembled his forces and set out for the Hexamilion in the Chersonese, and all the inhabitants of the Chersonese and the surrounding territories hastened to acclaim him. Meanwhile, Demetrios laid siege to the fortress of Gallipoli.

3. Let us resume, at this point, our account of Murad so

that you may know how he came to power and how the designs of the Romans came to nought; in addition, how Mustafa was killed as he tried to escape, while Juneid, who had deserted him, fled.

While Murad was sojourning in Prusa, as stated above, and many of his subjects came daily, ostensibly to console him over his father's death and to hail the inauguration of his rule, there suddenly came a report from Lampsakos that a large squadron of triremes had sailed into Gallipoli. Battle cries, the tumultuous din of siege engines, and the crushing blows delivered against the parapets rent the air, thus signaling the eruption of hostilities. Murad's most trusted officials, illustrious and preeminent in rank, harbored, from old, a gnawing envy toward Bayazid. Not only had Bayazid been given every honor but he was also a braggart who considered all others worthless. He was indeed a supercilious man who looked down on his peers with utter disdain. When his officials found the moment propitious for them to speak out (Murad because he was young was unable to hold in his hands the reins of government; the despotic government like an unbroken mule kicking here and there was contemptuous of the boy; he showed, moreover, no sign of self-confidence but had instead an inordinate affection and trust in his chief officials), they remarked, "Do you see, O lord, the diligence of our commander? Already he has lost the provinces of the West. Your crown has been placed upon the head of Mustafa. Unless some action is taken, he will shortly become the master of all the resources and armed forces of Thrace, and soon after he will also prevail against us. Command, therefore, the troops stationed in Prusa to cross the straits and engage Mustafa before the western armies arrive and combine with his. There is no one among your officers except Bayazid to resist and crush the enemy. The Thracian regiments all honor him as their lord, and he leads them wherever he wishes as though they were his household troops, and they serve him with the utmost obedience and humility."

4. Bayazid readily heeded the suggestion. He marched out with the few troops who were in attendance, and hastened as fast as he could to the straits of Marmara. At the point of the Sacred Mouth he crossed to the opposite shore and arrived in Adrianople in two days. He proceeded to assemble a huge army

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for, as we have said, the man was knowledgeable in all things, and all looked to him with great expectations. He counseled with the governors of the western provinces and received assurances from them that they would neither revolt nor injure him in any way, but that they would bravely resist the enemy, and with God's help make him victor. After they had expressed these and similar sentiments, Bayazid set out with a huge army. He took the road leading straight to the Chersonese, sending ahead several runners who on their return informed Bayazid that Mustafa had departed from there with a very large force. After he passed through the village called Great Karya, newly enlarged by the Turks and now heavily populated, he planned to camp in the morning somewhere near the plain of Adrianople with the greater part of his troops, numbering more than thirty thousand. At the thicketed marshland near the edge of the plain from whence Adrianople could faintly be seen, he made preparations for battle. Mustafa also arrived with his forces, and both armies were compelled to join battle, although the location seemed unsuitable.

5. After delivering his hortatory address to the armed troops and the cavalry, Bayazid harangued the governors of the West: "O brethren, you and all those who are subject to your command know full well the esteem in which our departed master held you and the magnanimity of his nature. He treated you not as slaves but as brothers. Furthermore, he was less concerned with his advantage than with your interests. He ruled as though he were a godsend for the common good and his purpose was to increase the nation of the Prophet and to decrease that of the Romans. Many cities and provinces did he add to the dominion of the Muslims. Until his death he never ceased to increase the numbers of troops and treasures. And now this false Turk, who has risen up in our times because of our sins, has already begun to apportion the realm before he has won it. He delivers to the Romans the best lands before he has conquered them—lands acquired by our ruler's ancestors with much sweat and toil. Are you not aware that Gallipoli and its straits are the key to both East and West, the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea? If the Romans are given control over them, rest assured that no longer will the Turks transport Roman captives across the straits to the East, but the Romans will take many

Turks captive. This will be the beginning of our tribulations and the firstfruits of freedom for the lands of the Romans. Therefore, I beg you, by necessity to resist this impostor Mustafa and his Roman cohorts who are of like mind. This godless man and enemy of our faith is not of the blood of Othman, for the real Mustafa, our lord's brother, died when he was but a mere infant, as our lord has revealed to me. He is indeed one of the baseborn Turks. In the days of the departed Musa, Emperor Manuel passed him off as the son of Yildirim to alarm Musa. Afterwards, when this pretender saw the emperor and our lord bound by solemn oaths and exchanging solemn pledges of amity, he fled to Vlachia. Sojourning with Mircea, the ruler of the Mysians (Vlachs), he claimed to be Yildirim's son and requested his aid. Given a few troops, he penetrated into Thessaly to plunder. He denuded the merchants and anyone else who happened to come along, calling himself the son of Yildirim and descendant of Othman. Consequently, our lord, as you know, dispatched a large army against him. A battle was fought somewhere near Thessaloniki, and the vile wretch, unable to prevail against our lord, entered Thessaloniki as a fugitive. At the same time Juneid, who accompanied our lord to the West and joined Mustafa's cause for his own advantage, was also compelled to seek refuge in Thessaloniki. As governor of the province of Asia, Juneid had earlier revolted, proclaiming himself the supreme ruler of both Smyrna and Ephesus. Subsequently our lord, at the head of a large force, expelled Juneid and commanded him to reside with him in the western regions. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Thessaloniki refused to deliver this impostor to him, our master wrote to the emperor requesting his surrender and gave warning by means of an illustration: 'When I had gone out to give chase to the wolf, Your Majesty, and was in hot pursuit of the quarry which was all but in my hands, he saved himself by jumping into the fold of your empire. I request, therefore, that my prey be handed over to me so that he may not become, in the course of time, a spoiler of both our flocks.' The emperor replied in writing: 'Although he who has been saved in my fold is a wolf, out of a desire for peace and a sense of humanity, I am unable to rejoice at the murder of strangers. I shall, therefore, become the savior of the wolf and not his betrayer. It is sufficient that I muzzle

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him and hold his leash in my hands and forbid him to roam and despoil any of your possessions. Rule, therefore, in plenty and abundance, as long as you shall live, while we both honor our pledged covenants.' From that time on the emperor detained both Mustafa and Juneid in Constantinople. Four years later he transferred Mustafa to the island of Lemnos where he was kept under guard until the present time. Since the emperor was unable to realize his plan to compel Murad to hand over to him his two brothers through whom he hoped to terrify us, he loosed this apostate with Mustafa to rage against us like wild rabid dogs. Let us not appear to our opponents to be gazelles or cowering hares, but let us pounce upon them like lions and with good aim cast our poised lances in their faces. As you can see, our forces are larger than Mustafa's. Until now they fought in the pay of Murad. This very hour they will defect to our side, leaving Mustafa behind like a lost sheep. Let us commence our attack eagerly." Having completed the exhortation, he arrayed the phalanxes and sounded the battle charge.

6. With Juneid at his side, Mustafa also undertook to strengthen the courage of his troops. He solemnly promised that if he gained the victory, they would share the dominion with him as ruler by receiving bountiful honors and gifts from him. To the common soldiers he pledged rewards and favors in abundance and to the nobles in superabundance. Observing that the battle was about to commence (the enemy had begun to move forward, brandishing their lances, and the archers were discharging their missiles), Mustafa took up his position on a high place, leaving the battle to Juneid (for he was braver than any other man and inured to warfare), and declaimed: "O brethren—I do not call you slaves—wherefore this impiety? Why is it that slave wars against master? Why is it that a barbarous nation, the Albanians, has instigated these things against me, the son of Yildirim, your lord? Were my brother still alive and they were sacrificing their lives in his cause, this impiety would have some justification. But now that he is dead, who is his heir? His son? But he has no place in Thrace. The eastern territories are sufficient for him. Moreover, I do not interfere in his paternal affairs but in those of my father. To him who says I am not the son of Yildirim, I will make the truth known. If it is war he wants, let my nephew not send my slave but come himself, and

to whomever Fortune awards the crown, let him reign. I am surprised at you who were held in honor in my father's armies and are aware of this good-for-nothing Bayazid's arrogance, pretensions, and disdain! Should he, by any chance, emerge victorious in this conflict, who will be able to converse with him? For this reason, I beseech you, fight not against me but with me as allies and join the fray for good reasons. As God is my witness, I will not deprive you of anything. Instead, I will add to your possessions and multiply them."

7. After this speech the commander who was defending the right wing suddenly broke ranks, ostensibly to engage Juneid in battle. Instead, he and his troops approached Mustafa, dismounted, and in submission made obeisance to him. Then the commander in charge of the left wing followed his example. It was a strange transformation to behold, indeed! Mustafa, suddenly spreading his wings and soaring like an eagle while Bayazid, like a plucked jackdaw, stood alone with the members of his household. Bayazid reflected that rarely does the slave prevail over the master and, observing that the threads of Fortune were being unraveled, hastened to save himself. He and his brother Hamza both dismounted from their horses and servilely made their submission to Mustafa. Mustafa's commanders, bringing the conflict to an end, pitched suitable tents for the ruler. After they helped Mustafa down from his horse, they acclaimed him the prince and ruler of all Roman lands. Mustafa commanded that Bayazid should be seated at a distance and appointed guards to keep watch over him.

8. When Juneid arrived (he had taken command of the flanks in order to prevent the enemy from escaping) and saw that Bayazid was still alive and in bonds, he remarked to Mustafa: "How long shall this unholy man, who is not even worthy of the darkness that may be felt, see the sun?" When Mustafa replied, "Do as you like," Juneid ordered the wretch dragged a short distance outside the camp and his head cut off. It was done. While Juneid watched the decapitation, he asked, "Do you know, O most evil man, how to crop testicles?" It happened that the testicles of Abdullah, Juneid's son-in-law, had been cut off at Bayazid's orders.

9. They next led out Bayazid's brother Hamza, intending to behead him also. Juneid, however, had pity on him

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because of his youth. "Release him," he commanded, "for he is not like that violent and inhuman killer nor have his hands done any evil. Let him, therefore, be my freedman." Unfortunately Juneid did not realize that he was restoring to life the man who was to bring him death and that the man to whom he showed compassion would shortly take his life without compassion.

10. Then the new ruler, Mustafa, confidently and resolutely made his entrance into Adrianople with his entire army. Joyously and wholeheartedly the citizens came out to meet him, acclaiming him with cheerful shouts.

11. When the inhabitants of Gallipoli and the defenders of the fortress learned of these events, in despair they surrendered the fortress, offering solemn pledges and pacts. Leonarios, trusting that the terms agreed to by Mustafa in the solemn compacts with the Romans would be honored, once the garrison of the fortress had departed with all their equipment, began to unload cuirasses, helmets, lances, crossbows, and every kind of armament from the triremes and to carry them into the fortress. Juneid, who had arrived on the scene and observed that the Turkish populace was thrown into a state of confusion and turmoil by the unwanted and unexpected Roman takeover, began to deride and revile Demetrios: "It appears, O General Demetrios, that you have assumed that the contest which we have waged and the dangers which we have confronted were undertaken on behalf of your nation and the Roman Empire. It is not so. If instead of being prisoners and slaves we have become free men and masters, we do not judge you Romans to be the cause of this gift but God in heaven. We acknowledge that you have suffered with us and have labored to bring about this changeover, but we recognize that you have done so only because of God's will. Therefore, for the labors and toils of us both, we offer thanks to the One God. And we will send you on your way with many gifts, our friendship, and your lives. As for receiving from us towns and fortresses, it is enough that you are sent back to the City safe and sound, for we recall the evil deeds perpetrated by the Lemnians and the contumely of the monks in the Monastery of the Pammakaristos. You have your head intact for your reward—to quote the words of the wolf.¹⁵¹ The east wind is blowing a fair breeze. Take your oars and make your way to Constantinople. Embrace the emperor on our

behalf and tell him how God has granted sovereignty to us. Let us live in peace together. Let the request for Gallipoli be set aside." The general was greatly disturbed by these words and becoming angry, he answered, "You do not seem to know how prudent, discerning, and high-minded my emperor is. By dismissing me empty-handed and spitting forth such heedless words from your mouth, O Juneid, know that shortly, I am sure, Constantinople will take you prisoner once again, and then you will regret what you have now spoken. Neither are you in a position to give me instructions and to dismiss me; that is the responsibility of the ruler Mustafa whom God and the Fortune of the Romans have raised up. Since you are only one of many, desist from speaking, for there is no one to heed you." Demetrios stood up and boarded the triremes, filled with indignation and bitterness and not knowing what to do, but he remembered the solemn pledges and promises that were broken by Mustafa. He stayed, however, refusing to return until he received Mustafa's reply as to whether or not he was to occupy the fortress.

12. Mustafa arrived and after both men had exchanged views, he addressed Demetrios: "O esteemed friend of my protector, I know full well the promises sworn by me before God and His Prophet and that among them was the surrender of the fortress of Gallipoli. Rightfully, I must answer on that fearful day of judgment if I renounce the agreement. As for the fortress, however, it is better to transgress an oath than to contend with God by delivering the pious into the hands of the impious, by making a free people slaves, and by putting the nation which is consecrated to God into the hands of the infidels who do not know the One God of heaven and earth. If then I should rush headlong into such impiety—Lord forbid!—the nation of Muslims would neither consecrate me their sovereign nor permit you entrance into this fortress. Depart, therefore, and to the degree that my wealth multiplies, to that extent I will increase your reward. As I am a Muslim I do not wish to undermine those possessions which are not mine but are rather consigned to the commonweal and to my Prophet; nor must I erode Muslim customs and weaken the Prophet's ordinances. I shall instead labor diligently to annex and multiply the number of towns and provinces taken from the infidels so that they may become Muslim. As for surrendering this city, that is, Gallipoli,

the Muslim throat that gulps down every Christian nation, that chokes and destroys the Christians, never could such an absurdity enter my mind nor could I ever bring such an action to fulfillment!’ As Leontarios listened to Mustafa’s words, he, like a lion who had let his prey escape and hangs low his head and sweeps the earth with his tail, was overcome by sadness and distraught in mind; he stood there with his head bowed until Mustafa had concluded his unreasonable declaration. Finally, raising his eyes, he replied: “O Lord and Ruler of the Muslims, we know full well your disposition toward us these many years. More than one hundred and fifty years have elapsed since your great grandfather Othman seized and occupied the provinces of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Phrygia from the hands of our forefathers. His grandson, Orchan, on becoming lord and heir to these provinces, proved false to the solemn treaties by transgressing the borders which God and Truth had secured—for about a hundred years the provinces of the West were laid to waste. Afterwards, his grandson and successor, your father Yildirim, became master of the affairs of state and of the provinces. But because he also transgressed sacred oaths, in the end God delivered him and his entire dominion into the hands of the Persians. Now since his death nearly thirty years ago to this day, your brothers, Sulayman and Musa, who had wickedly violated sacred oaths, have had both their dominions and their lives taken away from them. Only your brother, the recently deceased ruler Mehmed, honored his solemn pledges and was happily rewarded with a peaceful end and the joys of sovereignty. Because you now commit these grave injustices, Fortune will not long smile on you by espousing your cause and coming to your aid. God dispatches the unjust to Hades before their time, and those who break faith with Him, He destroys utterly. Had the Emperor of the Romans handed you over to Mehmed at the time you sought refuge in Thessaloniki, you would have lost your life on the gallows and many would have blamed and condemned the Romans as betrayers and horrendous murderers of refugees and as perpetrators of unjust deeds. Now that we Romans, after God, have made you sovereign, you ascribe everything to God. In this, I cannot deny that you have spoken the truth. But can you, in good faith, reckon those who have toiled with you as enemies? Do you turn your face from them?

Rejoice then in good health. We will depart for our homes and inform the emperor the circumstances of your deceit. Trusting everything to God, we will patiently await the outcome of His righteous judgment." After Leontarios concluded his remarks, he sailed out of the harbor to Constantinople.

XXV

1. When Emperor Manuel learned of these developments, he was overcome by deep sorrow. Thoroughly indignant, he decided to alter his course and dispatch ambassadors to Murad. If Murad agreed to comply with his father's testament and hand over to the emperor his two brothers as hostages—now that Bayazid had been put out of the way—with God's help he would restore him again to his paternal throne.

2. When Mustafa—we now return to him—had secured the fortress, established order, and counseled the populace, he appointed his own vice admirals¹⁵² and counts of the grand fleet. He secured the tower in the harbor, gave solemn pledges to the garrison within, and after rewarding them with gifts returned to Adrianople. Entering the palace apartments of his deceased brother Mehmed, he discovered countless treasures and valuables of every conceivable kind—garments, gems and precious pearls, beautiful women, youths and boys extraordinarily handsome, and all kinds of spoils from Vlachia; there he sat, getting drunk daily and debauching.

3. Murad, a mere youth who had not yet completed his twentieth year and resided in Prusa of Bithynia, behaved in much the same manner but not to the same degree because he was bothered by apprehension. His mind could not rest but pondered the problem of how to regain his paternal throne which his father had acquired through much labor and which he, through no fault of his own, had lost. He had with him his chief advisors with the exception of Bayazid who suffered a wretched

death, which we have described above. Informed that the fortress of Gallipoli had surrendered, that Leontarios was dismissed empty-handed, and that Mustafa continued to live wantonly and incontinently, unconcerned by any need to preserve his realm intact, Murad decided upon the same scheme as the emperor. Even before the latter's ambassadors arrived, he had dispatched to the emperor Ibrahim, Ali's brother, who has been mentioned above, a prudent and guileless man, unaccustomed to the shameless wanton behavior and profligacies of the Turks. He was second in rank after Bayazid, but with the latter's death he assumed the highest office and was the first among the nobles and viziers of Murad's rule. When he came to Constantinople, he was careful to make no mention of the emperor's past actions. The Turks, nonetheless, harbored an unbridled anger in their hearts which they kept hidden until time should happily improve their condition. With joyous countenance but treacherous intent he made the wolf within appear without as a sheep. When he requested aid, he used meek and very humble words, agreeing that Bayazid had been the cause of all past troubles. He pointed out that they, as well as the Romans, were innocent, and added, "Should Your Majesty so desire, you could very quickly restore his paternal throne to my master, Murad, as you did for his father. The rudder is in your hand and in whatever direction you place the tiller, the ship will turn. In the same way that you labored on behalf of his father when Musa opposed your rule, so you must now struggle on our behalf. Do not allow him who is unworthy of a hut to take possession of our dominion. Mehmed, it should be recalled, was reigning in the East at the time Musa ruled Thrace. Musa, by murdering his brother Sulayman, showed that he was opposed to the Romans and an implacable enemy of the City. Then the emperor summoned Mehmed from Prusa and, giving him his solemn pledge, transported him and his troops across the straits and into Constantinople. Several times Mehmed was defeated in combat by Musa outside the walls of Constantinople. He came forth once again from the capital and completely crushed and slew Musa, thereby winning the throne. "And now," continued Ibrahim, "do likewise, O Emperor. Support Murad and he, in return, promises you magnanimous and precious gifts—excluding, however, Gallipoli and the surrender of the two

boys." The emperor would not yield. Once his mind was made up, it could not be changed, and he pursued his purposes doggedly until the very end. While they were deliberating on these matters and Ibrahim had spent many days trying to conclude a satisfactory arrangement, another suddenly jumped into the ring and entreated that the service being requested of the emperor with such importunity and the promise of lavish gifts and benefactions be entrusted instead to him as a great boon.

Indeed, I shall recount from the beginning in what manner and with how much equipment Murad crossed the straits, and who helped him cross over and where.

4. Phokis is located in Ionia near a mountain on which there is an alum mine. The alum is produced from the rocks of the mountain ridge which dissolve into sand when brought into contact with fire and then with water. Pouring this sand, derived from the rock, into a cauldron of water, it is brought to a light boil. The sand is further broken down and its dense mass remains in the solution like cheesy milk, while the hard and earthy elements are thrown out as worthless. The solution is emptied into vats to settle for four days; it solidifies around the edges of the receptacle and sparkles like crystal. The bottom of the receptacle is also covered with crystalline particles. After four days, the excess solution is drawn off and poured into the cauldron, adding more water. More sand is thrown in; the compound is brought to a boil, and once again poured into the vats, in the manner described above. The alum is then removed and stored in warehouses. It is a necessary ingredient used by dyemakers. All ships sailing from the East to the West must carry a cargo of alum in their holds. Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Italians, Spaniards, Arabs, Egyptians, and Syrians in the dyemaker's trade are all provided with alum from this mountain.

5. In the days of Emperor Michael Palaiologos, the first of his line to reign, some Italians approached him and requested that the mountain be given to them for a stipulated annual payment.¹⁵³ The Turks, at this time, setting ambushes, plundered the surrounding regions of Lydia and Asia, and made raids as far as Sardis and Magnesia. When the Italians became aware of the Turkish attacks, they were alarmed and began to

construct a small fortress, adequate to protect themselves and the fifty or more laborers in their hire. When the Roman inhabitants from the surrounding lands, that is, the plain of Mainomenos, Magnesia, and Nymphaion, heard about the proposed construction, they came and found that the work had already begun. They conferred with the Latins and agreed to cooperate with them not only to build the fortress but also to expand it into a large town. They asked in return only to be allowed, in times of emergency, to seek protection within its walls. Both parties, therefore, Romans and Latins, in complete agreement, went to work and constructed New Phokaia—defended by God down to the present day—at the foot of that mountain and near the sea with the mountain on the east, the island of Lesbos on the west, the Bay of Elaia on the north, and the Ionian gulf on the south. The owners of this town were the Genoese, Andriolo and Jacobo Cattaneo della Volta,¹⁵⁴ and they took its name from the older Phokis calling it New Phokaia. In this town I also owned a dwelling.

6. When, not long afterwards, Roman hegemony passed into the hands of the Turks, both Latins and Romans, unable to suffer the daily assaults of the Turks and the slaughter of Christians (the Turks had occupied all the lands to the gates of the town), concluded solemn treaties with Saruchan, the ruler of Lydia. They gladly accepted the obligation of becoming his tributaries, and agreed to pay him the annual sum of fifteen thousand silver coins,¹⁵⁵ equal in amount to five hundred gold coins. Each year the governor, whoever he might be, must come to salute the ruler with the gift of ten thousand silver coins. Accordingly, both Turks and Romans would associate with each other in peace and friendship, with neither party tormenting the other. Without interference, the Romans were allowed to go out and engage in trade. The Turks likewise were free to enter the town without fear and receive abundant provisions according to their needs. Although nearly one hundred eighty years have elapsed since then, this compact is still observed in our own times.

7. New Phokaia is governed in the following way. In Genoa, which is a Republic and no one man can rule as a tyrant, it is customary every year or so to dispatch officials to the towns subject to Genoa in the East, such as the island of Chios,

New Phokaia, Galata, Amisos, Amastris, and Kaffa. When an official's designated term has elapsed, another is sent to take his place. The former departs after delivering the seat of government to his successor whom they call *podestà* in their tongue, that is, an *exousiastes* ("one who has authority") in the language of the Romans.

8. In the days when Mehmed was alive, there came a *podestà* from Genoa who was a member of the highest Genoese nobility, Giovanni Adorno by name, very young in years but mature in wisdom, the son of Sir Giorgio Adorno, who had served as doge of Genoa. He arrived at New Phokaia from Genoa to be *podestà* for ten years. Conforming to the ancient custom, he appeared to meet with Emir Mehmed and made the customary obeisance. When he finally received the rights to the alum mine, he was required to pay, over the ten year period, the annual sum of twenty thousand pure gold coins. When he returned to Phokaia, he began to mine the metal at great expense. Six years later, the emir had died and Mustafa had come to power. Rejoicing, Juneid saw the day he had hoped for while Bayazid experienced the unfortunate decline of his life. There ensued all the events I have recounted above. Giovanni Adorno now sought an audience with the new ruler, Murad. His purpose, was, first, to make obeisance; second, to receive new decrees at his hands; and, finally, to deliver the tribute which had not been paid for the past six years because he had sustained substantial losses during this period. The losses happened because the Genoese and the Catalans were at war, and Genoese ships were prevented from sailing to Italy, France, Spain, and England. Consequently, the alum could not be sold in the West and lay unused. As Adorno, whose hands were tied, fell heavily into debt, he conceived a bold and shrewd plan which profited him but inflicted injury on many Christians. Seizing the unexpected opportunity now offered him, he posted letters, which I had composed, to Murad before his departure from Amaseia. He emphasized the deep friendship and intimacy he had enjoyed with his father Mehmed, and expressed the hope he could continue the same relationship with him. "As your faithful servant," he wrote, "I am eager to offer you my assistance by transporting you from East to West in my triremes and warships. I can provide you with better service than any other

person. Only command me and your instructions will speedily be carried out." Murad was extremely pleased with his offer and replied, "God willing, in a few days I will be in Prusa. Let one of your most trusted servants meet me there so that we may discuss in detail what this plan and its execution involve." A few days later he dispatched a certain Demetrios Aga with letters of great importance—letters which I had also composed—to Murad and his viziers, Ali Beg, Hadji Aivat, and Umur Beg (Bayazid had earlier been slaughtered by Mustafa). They concluded suitable arrangements with Demetrios, and sent him back with Hatib, one of the most prudent and learned of the Turks, with the sum of fifty thousand gold coins to engage and fit out a fleet which would take the Turks over the straits of Gallipoli, since autumn had already arrived.

9. When Mustafa was apprised of Murad's designs to prepare a fleet to send against him from New Phokaia, he was deeply concerned by the information, and his heart was troubled. Although Phokaia was constantly on his lips as he reflected about its destruction, this in no way restrained him from indulging his wanton, licentious, and alcoholic appetites, or behaving ferociously like a prancing and snorting horse, or committing lewd acts with both males and females. Juneid, when informed of Mustafa's fatuous conduct, realized that he had no intention whatsoever of opposing the enemy; the future looked dim indeed. Juneid entered the palace and addressed the following abusive words to the ruler: "Do you not know, O Master, that we occupy only Thrace while the fate of the western provinces hangs in the balance? I have heard that Murad has been negotiating with the emperor to seek his help in restoring him to his paternal throne. Moreover, he has come to terms with the Franks and now all the lands of the East are in his hands. We, on the other hand, remain carefree in Adrianople, performing no military exploit. It is my opinion, therefore, that before the enemy crosses the straits at Lampsakos or Skutari and spreads tumult throughout the western provinces, and the army becomes discontented, it would be better if we anticipated them and with speed and resolution crossed the bridge at Lopadion with our western troops and engaged Murad in battle. Thank God, we excel the enemy in both arms and cavalry. Let them hear of our arrival and their spirit will break

like a reed and their counsels will be ignored. The same, however, will happen to us if we through neglect allow the enemy to cross over to us." Mustafa, barely revived from his drunken torpor, was convinced by Juneid's argument. Actually, Juneid was not scheming on Mustafa's behalf in order to establish him as ruler of the East. He was a cunning man and foresaw the rapid dissolution of Mustafa because of his licentious, drunken, and wanton behavior and his military ineptness. Juneid's concern was to escape and, while he contemplated this end, he thought to himself that if he attempted to flee into Thrace or some other western province, he would easily fall into the snares of the emperor. His fate would be exile to Lemnos or some other island, and the Romans would inflict a bitter punishment on him. The hope of regaining the province that he had formerly governed in the East sustained Juneid as much as the thought of how he could manage his escape. But these things were hidden within him as though in the infernal regions of Hades.

10. When the army had been assembled, they hastened to Gallipoli, where the huge force crossed the straits to remain in Lampsakos for three days.¹⁵⁶ The Phrygian nobles from the surrounding cities came forth and made obeisance to Mustafa. Informed of Mustafa's invasion, Murad marched out of Prusa in the night with a small army and went to Lopadion. He brought with him those commanders who were knowledgeable and expert in warfare, Hadji Aivat and the sons of Temurtaş Beg, Ali, Umur, and Orudj Beg, all courageous and excellent men. With them was also Hamza Beg, Juneid's brother who, since childhood, had resided with Murad. They arrived at the bridge ahead of Mustafa, and proceeded to dismantle it, thereby effectively blocking Mustafa's and Juneid's advance into the East. When Mustafa arrived with his forces, he pitched his tents along the lakeshore. Murad set up his tents on the opposite shore, and the opponents confronted each other without the slightest fear. The dismantling of the bridge was a work of great prudence. When the enemy found the bridge demolished, their advance was stopped, and Murad's forces assembled without trepidation. The water's flow was deep and its span very wide. If one wished to travel around the lake to reach the opposite shore, three days would not be sufficient for him to do so. All around were craggy mountains with impassable defiles.

XXVI

1. While the armies were encamped opposite each other, and neither side was able to move against the other, Murad's advisers took counsel on how to cause Mustafa's destruction and death. In their deliberations, they decided to summon Hamza, Juneid's brother. They addressed him thus: "If you could persuade your brother to break away and separate himself from Mustafa—no other demand would be made of him—we will reward him with Aydin's province. Our ruler Murad will command that a written decree be issued declaring that Juneid and his heirs shall possess it in perpetuity. All we require is that he be bound by oath to be a faithful, guileless, and trusted friend of Murad's. As a proof that Juneid will be obedient to all of Murad's ordinances, let him annually send one of his sons to make obeisance to Murad and to campaign with him. Murad will keep him at his side and bountifully provide for him." Hamza was pleased by their proposal, and that night he dispatched one of his servants to Juneid. The servant swam across the lake during the second watch of the night and entered Juneid's tents where he found him in a state of great anxiety. He spoke to him: "Your brother and my lord, Hamza Beg, wishes to converse with you in private. If you are willing, come alone to the lake shore near the bridge, and while you stand on one side and he on the other, you can discuss secretly." Juneid was delighted with the message; he dismissed his brother's servant, who then swam back to the opposite shore.

2. On the following night, at about the time of the second watch, Hamza, as arranged, arrived at the shore by the bridge while Juneid, alone, appeared on the opposite shore. Disclosing their identities by way of special signals, Hamza spoke first, "You well know, my lord brother, that I am also your father's issue and that you are my mother's offspring, and that I am younger than you. I have fervently wished that you might become the lord of the entire inhabited universe, master over all, so that some portion and lot might be assigned me. Since my desire for your aggrandizement has been a source of

pleasure to me, the fact that you are now pressed, endangered, and encompassed about by many who are full of envy against you is most abominable, undesirable, and hateful to me. After all, your misfortunes and calamities will also be visited on me. Do you really know with whom you ride and associate? First, all men say that Mustafa is not a descendant of the Ottomans; he has been made the butt of ridicule everywhere. Second, a comparison of performances reveals his military ineptness and his passion for women, while those who are descended from the lineage of our rulers have demonstrated military prowess, and the exploits and generalship of each are well known. Third, if this effeminate barbarian of low station becomes sole monarch, then those who long ago undertook the defense of the West and the Danubian borders,—the Evrenos and Turachan families and the descendants of all those who from the beginning were recognized as legitimate branches of the hegemony—will follow him. Why do I speak only of the West? Should Fortune smile favorably—God forbid!—on Mustafa, he would gladly welcome the governors of the East, and bestow upon each his ancestral honors. Once these things are accomplished, what awaits you? Only death!—a perverse, ignominious, and utterly unworthy reward for your bravery. All the nobles recognize your daring spirit and intrepid, bold, and leonine nature in the forefront of battle. Upon such virtue envy looks with jaundiced eye and fear succors envy. They who fear their own destruction at your hands, being envious of you will succeed in bringing about your murder first, driving away fear by wooing fearlessness. Because of these urgent reasons which lead the souls of heroes to ruin, and yours, I believe, is one of these, set yourself free from this blackguard and join us. My lord Murad, through the exhortations of his nobles and of myself, promises to forget all your past transgressions, the seditions and injuries inflicted by you on him and his father and their domain. He looks upon you with a propitious eye and awards you, through me, the province of Aydin as a hereditary possession. In addition, the issue of your loins will be allotted this province as an inheritance. However, so that it may be known that you are submissive and obedient to his rule, from time to time you will assign one of your sons to campaign with him. I tell you these things out of my love for you. Now you tell me what you think.”

3. At this point Juneid replied to Hamza, "You know very well, brother, that I have received no profit, distinction, or dignity at the hands of the Ottomans, but they, in their misfortunes, have benefited greatly from the multitudinous feats of war wrought by these arms. Following the invasion of the Tartars, who was it that wrested from the hands of Umur, Aydin's son, the province whose rule he now promises to grant me? Was it not Juneid? Did I not pursue Umur's brother, Isa, and blockade him inside the fortress of Palaiopolis? Did I not take him captive and kill him? Did I not assassinate his brother Umur with cunning? These things I did while they were the natural heirs of the province.¹⁵⁷ Sulayman, the uncle of Murad, whom you call your lord, sat idle in Thrace, living wantonly while I acclaimed him lord of Ephesus and of all Ionia. Afterwards, he chose to expel me from the province and grant it to Qelpaxesi, a redeemed Triballian slave. The province, which Murad now awards me, is presently occupied and governed by Aydin's grandson, the son of Umur, whom I beheaded. As lord of his paternal possessions he has governed the province for the past year or so and all are his subjects and servants. If God granted me this province through the might of my arms, what thanks is due Murad? None. Murad's grandfather, Bayazid Yildirim, also seized and took possession of the province from Aydin, the grandfather of Mustafa, its present governor. In like manner, I too this day, God willing, will become its lord. As you have come for this purpose, brother, I solemnly pledge before God and His Prophet that from this moment onwards I will be a genuine friend of Murad. Whenever he has need of troops, one of my sons will always accompany Murad on campaign. Even without this pact, however, I have been convinced by the reasons you have cited to march to Ionia and give battle to Mustafa, Aydin's grandson. Since you, my brother, being of the same mind and having the same father with me, would be pleased if I were to befriend Murad, I am ready to give my pledge. Tomorrow night I will begin with deeds to prove my faith in the terms agreed upon." After they had separated, Hamza announced to Murad and the Council the purport of the conversation and the terms agreed upon. All were greatly pleased and with high hopes took heart.

4. On the following night, Juneid arose at the first

watch of the night and evacuated his tents, leaving his campfires burning. Every useful piece of equipment, however, such as arms, the best trained horses, all stores of gold and silver, was removed. He also took along those household members who were redeemed slaves and many friends. Each carried in his military cloak a large portion of gold or silver or some other precious substance not too heavy or bulky. About seventy horses were mounted and they slipped away unnoticed. All the heavy gear, which was too difficult to carry, was left behind, as well as horses, camels, mules, and every other kind of equipment. They rode through the night until morning, crossing mountains and plains, and reached the borders of Lydia, somewhere near Chliera and Thyateira. In one night they covered the distance of a two days' journey. Crossing the Hermos river about the third hour of the day [nine a.m.], and meeting no opposition whatever, they reached Smyrna by evening. Only at the bank of the Hermos where they wished to ford the river did a group of Turks, thinking them to be a contingent of Mustafa's army whose march to the East threw all Asia into a state of agitation, attempt to obstruct their crossing. Juneid turned on them and gave chase, killing some by the sword and striking down others with arrows, and then continued fearlessly on his way. When the Smyrnaeans beheld the phalanx, they wondered to whom it belonged and who was its leader. When they learned that it was Juneid, all the men with their wives and children came running to see Juneid, for he was born and bred a Smyrnaean and had been reared among them. After Juneid was told by them that Mustafa, Aydin's grandson, was sojourning in Ephesus and Thyrea, he penetrated into the interior where Bryela, Erythrai, Klazomenai, and other villages are found. The Turks of the neighboring mountains are very bellicose and martial and friends of Juneid's father. Juneid collected from them about two thousand men, for whom he fashioned javelins out of the thickets and hastily forged rough lances that were crudely hammered. In a week's time he had trained more than two thousand archers, axe-bearers, and javelineers. When Mustafa was informed of Juneid's arrival, he amassed a huge army and, marching from Ephesus, came to Smyrna to meet him. Juneid also led out his troops to engage Mustafa. Confronting each other in a place called Mesavlion, both leaders deployed

their troops as well as they could (the place was marshy and thickly wooded). Mustafa sounded the battle charge. Juneid, on his part, possessed neither trumpet nor any other customary martial instrument. After the battle began, Juneid swooped down like an eagle among sparrows, scattering the enemy between the trees. He soon caught up with Mustafa and struck him on the head with an iron mace; Mustafa, the wretch, unable to withstand the blow, fell headlong from his horse and died. Mustafa's troops then came forward and, saluting Juneid, proclaimed him ruler. They escorted him to Ephesus where they once again acclaimed him and declared him ruler. He ordered Mustafa's body to be borne by the nobles to Pyrgion with highest honors and there to be buried with his forebears. Thus was accomplished Juneid's second accession.

XXVII

1. Let us now return and see how events turned against those whom Juneid deserted at Lopadion when he stole away. When the nobles arose in the morning, assembling as is their custom, they informed one another that during the night there had been great tumult in Juneid's tents. Some contended that he had crossed to the opposite shore and joined forces with Murad, while others, full of envy against him, claimed to have prophesied the fact. Murad's troops on the opposite shore also learned that Juneid had truly deserted. The loud blasts from the musical instruments and trumpets in Murad's army, the cavalry movements along the lakeshore, the shouts and war cries resounding to heaven, were indeed something to experience! When Mustafa, on awakening, was apprised of Juneid's flight, he conjectured that the only place he could have gone was across the water to the opposite shore to join Murad. He became very afraid and hastened to depart. The great cowardice, confusion, and turmoil rampant in Mustafa's army were also a sight to

behold. The enemy rode up and down the opposite shore shouting and reproaching them, impudently crying out in their own tongue: "*Turun turun qačman*," that is, "Stand, stand, do not flee." Since the bridge was destroyed, however, they had no way to cross and engage them in battle. Mustafa mounted his horse, rode towards Lampsakos, hastening to reach the straits. On that same day, Murad rebuilt the bridge with large wooden beams. As he crossed the bridge most of Mustafa's troops rushed forward to make obeisance and to acclaim him. Arriving at Lampsakos like a plucked jackdaw, as the proverb so aptly puts it, Mustafa found a skiff waiting and crossed to Gallipoli with only four of his couriers. He mustered the Gasmouloi of Gallipoli and remained there waiting to see what the future held in store for him.

2. Murad after crossing the bridge, dispatched couriers to New Phokaia to relate these events to Adorno and to order him to come to the straits with his ships as soon as possible. Adorno, whose ships were ready, boarded them and, spreading sail, navigated towards the Hellespont with the wind blowing from the direction of the prow. He sailed through the night and appeared between Lampsakos and Gallipoli at the same time that Murad was approaching the shore. When the squadron had drawn near (there were seven huge vessels), Murad boarded the largest and best. Adorno accorded Murad the honor befitting his station and Murad accepted it. The two men conferred with each other. Murad was concerned that the Franks would disregard their oaths and deliver him to Mustafa in return for rich treasure. Murad had taken the precaution of taking on board ship more than five hundred armed household slaves together with the commanders. On the same ship Adorno had more than eight hundred brave and heavily armed Franks. On each of the remaining vessels there were as many Turkish troops as there were Frankish soldiers. Adorno honored his pledges with integrity and without guile. In the middle of the straits Adorno rose and, bending his knee before Murad, requested that the debt owed on the alum mine be remitted. Murad gladly complied and the document was signed canceling the payment of the old debt. The sum owed was about twenty-seven thousand gold coins.

3. Mustafa, who was standing on the opposite shore and

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observing the ships which appeared like fortresses or islands in the middle of the sea, was deeply worried. It was a clear day. Unable to act, he dispatched a boat to summon one of Adorno's close associates on the pretext that he had a message for him. Adorno sent his deputy Barnabas de Cornelia to meet with Mustafa. The latter promised to give Adorno fifty thousand gold coins if he would agree not to release Murad from his ship but to transport him anywhere he wished. Adorno rejected the proposal.

4. Informed about what had taken place, Murad embraces Adorno and remarked, "From this day you are our brother and trusted friend." When they had drawn opposite Gallipoli, Mustafa's troops prevented the fleet from entering the harbor. The ship captains, proceeding to the lower end of the harbor outside the city, dropped their sails and anchors in the open sea and prepared to disembark the troops in battle array. Mustafa's troops, racing along the shore, took up positions opposite to obstruct the debarkation. Lowering over twenty boats, skiffs, and caiques from his ships, in which were more than five hundred Frankish crossbowmen and javelineers, Adorno commanded them to establish a beachhead. After landing, the archers were sent out about a mile from the shore; once they had secured the littoral, Murad came ashore with one thousand skilled archers and more than three thousand of his bravest warriors. The Franks took their positions on the front line of battle, and cleared the way with quarrels and gunshot.

5. Murad's troops and the Franks joined forces and, shouting a trumpet-like war cry, charged Mustafa's forces. The latter turned their backs and fled, and the former, in hot pursuit, did not desist until they had slain many. While Murad pushed on to the city's fortress, Mustafa rode as fast as he could to Adrianople. He broke open the treasury and carried away as much money as he could manage. He took a few troops with him, and they drove their horses hard toward Vlachia.

6. Murad stayed three days in Gallipoli and succeeded in taking the fortress. He then proceeded to slaughter mercilessly all those who had obstructed his debarkation in the harbor. Thence, he rode hurriedly to Adrianople, taking with him a huge army from both East and West as well as Giovanni Adorno with all his ship captains and a force of more than two

thousand men, Italians in black armor and bearing lances, and axe-bearing foot soldiers full of martial passion. When he made his entry into Adrianople, the entire citizenry came out to meet him and to acclaim him, and he, with great elation, greeted them all. Murad then entered his father's palace, and prepared a rich and sumptuous banquet to which he invited Adorno and all the Latins; as they reveled, they all acclaimed him. Besides many gifts, he also granted Adorno the fortress of Peritheorion in the West to hold and govern for life and, in addition, the customs duties of New Phokaia. He rewarded the ship captains with precious garments and lavish gifts, before dismissing them in peace and with many thanks. They returned to Gallipoli and, spreading sail, set their course for Phokaia.

7. Murad quickly sent out fast runners and brave generals in pursuit of Mustafa; they caught him somewhere near the banks of the Danube. He had considered seeking refuge in Constantinople, but because of his former behavior he was prevented by his conscience. They brought him to Murad who decided to execute him by hanging in the public square as a common criminal so that the majority of the populace, at least, would be convinced that he was not Bayazid's son, and therefore a descendant of Othman, but an impostor created by Emperor Manuel Palaiologos. In truth, however, he was Bayazid's son.

XXVIII

1. Murad, who had spent the winter in Adrianople on his paternal throne, sent out heralds, with the coming of spring, commanding large numbers of his troops to assemble and make preparations to attack Constantinople. Emperor Manuel, an old man, had long ago entrusted the empire to his son John and now devoted himself to the study of Holy Scriptures. When he learned that Murad was ready to march against him that very

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month (it was April), he dispatched an ambassador to him by the name of Theologos Korax, whose original home was Philadelphia, but after the Tatar onslaught into Asia, he had migrated to Constantinople. He was, moreover, the greatest rogue of his time, intimately involved in the actions and calumnies of the Turks. He frequently came to the palace with several officials and thus became well-known to Emperor Manuel. Because he was a master of the Turkish language and could converse in it, he always accompanied the Emperor's ambassadors, translating their proposals for the viziers of the former ruler, Mehmed. After he had served for a long period in this capacity, he became a familiar of both the ruler Mehmed and the grand vizier Bayazid. So intimate did he become that if there was anything the emperor desired to convey to Mehmed or Mehmed to the emperor, Theologos did so directly. To both sides he appeared to be a consummate compromiser of differences. Envy, therefore, which casts the evil eye on all good things, took sharp aim at Theologos.

2. As Mehmed and Vizier Bayazid both died and, finally, Mustafa, who had come to power with the assistance of the Romans, friendship's sweetness deteriorated into enmity's bitterness when the sovereignty passed into Murad's hands. Hoping to transfer the bitter back into the sweet, the emperor dispatched to Murad his ambassadors, Lachanas Palaiologos and Markos Iagaris, both illustrious and prudent men, to present convincing arguments that the emperor was not really the cause of Murad's misfortunes, but that Bayazid, the chief minister of state, was actually the cause. Bayazid would not deliver the infants into the emperor's hands as he had been instructed to do by their father in his last will and testament. Instead, he ignominiously dismissed the ambassadors who came for them.¹⁵⁸ Murad also refused to see or listen to the ambassadors and placed them under custody for a few days. When his military preparations against the City were complete, he released the ambassadors with the instructions, "Go and announce to the emperor that I will be coming soon." Within a few days, after the entire army of more than two hundred thousand troops had been assembled, Murad marched against the City.

3. The Constantinopolitans became suspicious of Theo-

logos and thought badly of him. He had not accompanied the emperor's ambassadors and so they were convinced that he had contrived a plot against the City. After all, Theologos was on friendly terms with the Turkish officials and their ruler. Emperor Manuel, who observed how agitated the populace was against Theologos, dispatched him to Murad, ostensibly to negotiate peace terms. Murad had, in the meantime, surrounded and blockaded the City. Theologos pitched his tents inside the Church of the Life-Giving Fount near the city wall. He then came out and met with Murad and his nobles. Although he was persuasive as he spoke of peace, he seemed unable to convince the tyrant. The majority, however, suspected that he had told the Turk the following, "If you will give me your solemn pledge that I will become governor and ruler of the City, I will deliver it into your hands." One of his most trusted friends overheard the conversation. After the compact was concluded, which said that on the day of the attack he and his friends would conduct the Turks inside the City through the Gate of the Fount, they returned to the City. While Theologos was giving an account of his embassy to the emperor, his friend, turned informer, betrayed to the officials standing outside the audience chamber Theologos' treasonous plans, corroborating his accusations with evidence. When Theologos came out from the monastery (the emperor, a sick old man, had taken residence in the Monastery of the Peribleptos, while Emperor John was occupied with the City's defenses), several officials, joined by the lightly armed Gasmouloi troops, shouted curses at him and heaped abuse on him. Disturbed by the tumult, the emperor inquired what was happening. The informer who had disclosed Theologos' treasonous scheme was now introduced to the Emperor, who gave orders, to pacify the throng, that both Theologos and his informer were to be held in custody so that he could determine the truth the next day.

4. When the Cretans, who were standing guard at the Imperial Gate, heard the account of Theologos' betrayal, they came running to protest to the emperor (the Cretans were the most faithful subjects of the empire, distinguished by their sacred zeal for the holy churches and their relics, and for the City's imperial prestige), "O Emperor, it is unjust for us to prefer the City over our own country and to shed our blood for the

Queen of Cities while the native-born populace and those honored within are traitors to the Divine Mysteries and to your imperial authority. Command, therefore, that Theologos be delivered into our hands and we will thoroughly investigate the charges." The emperor replied, "For my part I hesitate lest the man be imperiled from envy. If I knew for certain that he was perverse, this very hour I would condemn him to the most ignominious death. Take him and examine him. If he proves to be innocent, release him, but if he is guilty of crime, let him pay the penalty." The Cretans took Theologos and subjected him to a diligent examination. They condemned him after using torture and from circumstantial evidence, for they found in his house such diverse gifts as gold and silver vessels and gold embroidered veils (the vessels were intended for presentation to the Turk as gifts from the emperor, but Theologos had purloined them for his own purposes), and, in particular, from libelous documents which he had composed against the emperor. The Cretans dragged Theologos through the main thoroughfare to the Imperial Gate where they mercilessly and savagely gouged out his eyes, so that no sign of eyelids or of skin could be seen. They then cast him into prison, and he died in three days. Finally, they confiscated his house and burned it down with all its treasure.

5. When Murad learned of Theologos' death and how he was murdered, he was both enraged and saddened. He was informed that the culprit responsible for Korax's murder was none other than Michael Pylles. This Pylles, who came from Ephesus, was a Roman by nationality, a Christian by faith, a scion of his city's nobility in station, serving in the palace as a trained secretary versed in both Roman and Arabic letters, in deed and demeanor intractable, lecherous, profligate, and utterly corrupt. Since Pylles was in the service of the tyrant at that time, they delivered him over, saying that it was he who had written to the emperor that Theologos planned to betray the City, and that because of his warning Korax was condemned to death. Pylles was placed in chains and tortured mercilessly (he was despised by all). Afterwards, a fire was ignited and the wretch was placed before it and asked if he would like to abjure the Christian faith. If he chose to do so, he would be spared, but if he did not, the flames would consume

him. Then he who, according to his deeds, was a Turk before his apostasy, renounced his faith. Circumcising him, they paraded him about. He died many years later an abominable Muslim.

6. Although Emperor Manuel was bedridden, and death, so to speak, was always nearby, he contrived the following scheme against Murad. Following the accepted murderous custom among the Turks, Murad succeeded in strangling one of his two brothers, the children of Mehmed. At the time of their father's death, one of his nobles named Ilyas, a cupbearer in rank, called *šarabdar* in the Turkish language, kidnapped the surviving son whose name was Mustafa, and took him to Paphlagonia in the East. The emperor secretly posted letters to the *šarabdar* Ilyas to bring the child to Prusa while providing Ilyas with a large amount of gold to hire a mercenary army to conduct the child to Bithynia. Murad was busily engaged building siege engines and mangonels for the assault against Constantinople. Within a few days, a courier arrived announcing to Murad: "Your brother Mustafa has entered Prusa and the citizens have welcomed him and acclaimed him ruler. He has now left Prusa with the *šarabdar* Ilyas and is making his way to Nicaea." Informed of these developments, Murad reflected, "The emperor of the Romans has unleashed another Mustafa to bring me tribulations." In order to bring an end to the hostilities, he gave orders for the dismantling of the breastworks, the removal of the siege engines, and the disbanding of his many troops in battle array. He returned to Adrianople, after he abandoned the siege.¹⁵⁹

7. Emperor Manuel, who suffered hemiplegia, lay breathing his last and died three days later.¹⁶⁰ A truly wise emperor, virtuous in both sobriety and propriety, he bequeathed the sovereignty to his son John, the last emperor of the Romans,¹⁶¹ and the first among all in the possession of the attributes of emperorship.

8. For three months Murad and his troops had besieged the City. Three days after lifting the siege and going to Adrianople, he set out for Gallipoli. He crossed the straits with large numbers of foot soldiers and some cavalry, and without telling anyone his destination, he marched one full day and night and arrived at Nicaea the following morning before dawn had broken. He informed his supporters within the city of his

arrival. They raised a great clamor in the center of the city, so that the gates were opened at sunrise and Murad was conducted inside. He located the boy and strangled him, and slaughtered his protectors. Mustafa was about six years old.¹⁶² Satisfied that the child was dead, he ordered the remains taken to Prusa and laid in the tomb beside the boy's father. In that same year three leaders with the name Mustafa died: the first was he who was called an impostor by most, the second was Murad's bother, and the third was Aydin's grandson who was killed by Juneid. Manuel, the emperor of the Romans, also died.¹⁶³

9. On returning to Adrianople, Murad continued to search day and night for some pretext to start a fight against Juneid. He sent him the following message, "If you wish to be my friend, dispatch your son to me posthaste, according to the solemn pledge you have given me, because I am about to cross the Danube. If you refuse, you will be numbered among my enemies and I will execute God's will against you." Juneid replied, "Do as you like and leave the outcome to God."

10. In that same year Murad dispatched mounted couriers to Vlachia and Serbia, announcing his accession. Ambassadors came from everywhere and from the despot of Serbia and from the voivode of Vlachia, congratulating him on the commencement of his reign, and he made peace with them.

11. He was not at all disposed, however, to come to terms with Emperor John, but harbored an implacable hatred against him. Because he could do nothing against the City, he turned his attention to Thessaly and the routes leading into the Peloponnesos. Dispatching large numbers of troops to the lands bordering the Strymon river, he blockaded Thessaloniki and plundered the surrounding territory. He also ravaged Zetounion and its environs. At that time Kantakouzenos Stravometes, a courageous man—actually he was a superman—was sent to Zetounion as governor. He wrought great havoc against the Turks who dwelled in those parts, effectively defending the fortress and environs of Zetounion.¹⁶⁴

12. Murad, who had readied his eastern army, placed it under the command of Halil, a Roman by nationality and the brother-in-law on his sister's side of Vizier Bayazid who was slain by Juneid while the latter was still in the service of Mustafa. Halil moved all his forces to the environs of Philadelphia.

Juneid, on the other hand, not at all afraid and also at the head of a sizable army, marched out and encountered Halil in the plain of Thyateira. They pitched their tents facing each other, but over half a mile apart. In the morning when the trumpets sounded the battle charge and the phalanxes were arrayed against each other, the youngest of Juneid's sons whose name was Qurt, meaning wolf, entered the fray with his shield-bearers and regiment and charged into the center of the enemy's front lines like a wild boar. Halil's regiments and legions pulled back and gave way, and he passed through doing little harm. When Halil observed Qurt's lack of skill and military experience, he maneuvered his troops into a confined area at the side of the road and gave orders that everyone should hide his white headdress, assuming that Qurt would return along this same road. Juneid was standing ready so that when Qurt encountered the rearguard on his return, he would then move out to engage Halil. He did not follow behind Qurt's charge because he was afraid that his army would succumb to a kind of diarrhea and stream over to Halil; for this reason, he refused to attack until Qurt returned. Qurt, however, delayed the return, prancing about on his horse with his fellow combatants with braggadocio. Along a distance of well over a mile he slaughtered all he encountered, and then returned by the same road he had taken. When he observed many soldiers in an open place with instruments and banners similar to his father's, he supposed that his father had routed Halil from the rear. As he approached, however, and recognized the enemy, he turned around and riding in the opposite direction, fled like a hare pursued by fast running dogs, as though traveling on air. Juneid, in the meantime, became anxious over the long delay. Shortly, however, the wolf was caught and brought to Halil. When Juneid learned of his son's capture, he turned back with his remaining troops and crossed the mountains and hazardous terrain in the direction of Smyrna until he reached the fortress of Hypsele. Juneid had seen to it that the fortress was adequately provisioned with arms and food and securely guarded by a garrison of troops. It was situated on a bay of the sea along the Ionian littoral opposite the island of Samos, and it was here that he quartered his troops.

13. Halil dispatched Juneid's son Qurt, bound in iron

chains, to the emir in Adrianople as the propitious firstfruits of his father's harvesting. Thence, Emir Murad gave instructions that Qurt and his uncle, the aforementioned Hamza, be taken to Gallipoli, manacled and shackled and thrown into the tower. Crossing the Hermos river Halil proceeded to Nymphaion and thence to Ephesus. To all the nobles and officials he gave pledges of good faith, and they, in turn, pledged that they were innocent of all deceit. He promised to grant each one a pension, position, and honors. Afterwards, he posted letters to the ruler recounting all that had taken place. When Murad learned of Juneid's flight and Halil's prowess in the capture of his son, he awarded the province to Halil. To succeed Halil he dispatched Hamza, Halil's brother-in-law on his wife's side and brother of Bayazid whom Juneid had killed in the days of Mustafa, to reconnoiter, scout, and assault Hypsele, and to keep vigilant watch so that Juneid would not escape. Juneid, recognizing the seriousness of his situation, escaped by sea. At Hypsele he had three biremes which he boarded and sailed toward Pamphylia. He installed his brother Bayazid as commander of Hypsele and instructed him to defend the fortress to the utmost. Within were large stores of provisions of every kind, arms, food, diverse equipment, and a large garrison of troops.

14. Proceeding to Amorion Juneid informed Karaman, the ruler of Ikonion, that he wished to discuss urgent matters with him. Karaman dispatched two hundred horses and several officials to deliver the message, "Let him come." Juneid sent his biremes back to Hypsele. Karaman and Juneid deliberated and Juneid spoke long and forcefully in an effort to convince Karaman to come to his assistance with troops, but Karaman was not persuaded because he recalled the previous machinations which had taken place in the time of Sulayman. He sent him on his way, however, with a substantial sum of money and five hundred men to campaign with him. Juneid, departing with the five hundred horsemen, crossed Phrygia Salutaria and came to Laodicea. Thence, he ascended the high Tmolos mountain and descended to Sardis, and from Sardis he came to Nymphaion. Altering his course, he left the road to the right and followed the stream which led him to the village called *Ta Triakonta* ("The Thirty") where he remained overnight. The next day, crossing the mountains which look out to the sea

toward Mount Galesion, he arrived at Hypsele during the first watch of the night. Suddenly, shouting the war cry and making much din and tumult, the besieging troops were taken by surprise; some fled while others resisted. The gates of the fortress were now thrown open and the troops within sallied forth and, joining forces with their comrades without, slaughtered the enemy and routed them. In the morning, however, when the routed enemy troops had regrouped, they drove Juneid and his forces gradually back into the fortress. The attacking troops numbered more than fifty thousand while the defenders, including Karaman's soldiers, barely numbered one thousand. Realizing that he could not prevail on land (the stronghold, situated on high ground, was very well fortified), Hamza requested Murad to provide Genoese ships to attack from the sea. The interior of the fortress was completely exposed to the sea and thus extremely vulnerable to assault from that side. A Genoese acquaintance of Murad by the name of Persivas Pallavicini¹⁶⁵ agreed to sail forth and capture the fortress. Adorno had died. On the island of Chios, Pallavicini chartered three huge warships and sailed to Hypsele. When Juneid and his troops inside the fortress beheld the ships, they lost heart. After the first day of battle, they recognized that they must surrender on the next. That night Karaman's five hundred men opened the gates of the fortress and fled. Some managed to escape, but the rest were cut down by the Ottomans because Karaman's subjects had always been opposed to them. In the morning when Juneid witnessed the confusion of the throng, he became afraid that all of his troops would flee that night, deserting him. He, therefore, sent one of his trusted servants to Halil, who, that week, was besieging the fortress because Hamza was away in Ephesus. He informed Halil that if he would give his solemn pledge to Juneid that his life would be spared and that he would not be put to death, and, in addition, that Halil in person would conduct him to Murad or else would have Juneid escorted to Murad, he would surrender, abandoning the fortress to him. When Halil had given his pledge, Juneid came forth with his brother Bayazid, and they made obeisance to Halil who provided them with tents, and they retired for the night. When Hamza, arriving toward evening, learned from his brother-in-law Halil the events of the day, he sent four of his

executioners to the tents (Juneid was asleep and snoring loudly because he had not slept at all the previous night) and they bashed in Juneid's head as he lay sleeping. They then proceeded to behead Bayazid and his son and grandsons; not even the infants born of his lineage were spared. Quickly they sent the heads to the ruler in Adrianople. The ruler sent instructions to Gallipoli that the prisoners Qurt and his uncle Hamza were to be beheaded. Thus did Juneid end his life with his entire household.

XXIX

1. Emperor John negotiated a treaty of perpetual peace with Murad by agreeing to surrender to him the cities and towns along the Black Sea except the fortresses which he had been unable to take by force, such as Mesembria, Derkoi, and others, as well as Zetonunion and the lands along the Strymon. In addition, he promised to pay an annual tribute of three hundred thousand silver coins. Having done all he could to keep the peace, he rested.¹⁶⁶

2. Since fortune had looked upon him with great favor, utterly destroying his enemies, and since there was no one left to threaten him or to impede him, Murad crossed from Thrace to Prusa. He left Prusa, crossed the bridge at Lopadion, and continued to Pergamon, Magnesia, Smyrna, Thyraia, and Ephesus.

3. The ambassadors of all the rulers came from near and far to acclaim him: the emperor dispatched his chief minister, Lord Loukas Notaras,¹⁶⁷ with many gifts; Lazar, despot of Serbia, Danos, voivode of Vlachia, the lord of Mitylene, the Chians, and the Rhodians all followed suit.¹⁶⁸ Treaties of peace and friendship were negotiated with everyone except the Venetians for the reason I will not relate.

4. Andronikos, despot of Thessaloniki, Emperor Manuel's third son, born after Emperor John and Theodore, was wasting away from the divine sickness.¹⁶⁹ At the time Mustafa

had been released from Lemnos and Murad had laid siege to the City, Thessaloniki was also under a state of siege. All the governors of Thessaly, Aetolia, Phthia, Thebes, and from beyond Ioannina, joined by the sons of Evrenos and by Turachan and many others, harried and blockaded Thessaloniki. Greatly upset the daily assaults of the Turks, starving from a lack of adequate provisions, and despairing of any assistance whatsoever (Constantinople was suffering her own calamities and was unable to send help), the Thessalonians dispatched several officials to the Venetians with the mandate—with or without the despot's consent—that they would deliver Thessaloniki to them. The Venetians accepted the offer gladly, and agreed to defend, provision, and bring such prosperity to the city that she would be transformed into a second Venice. The Thessalonians, on their part, promised to be as faithful to the commune of the Venetians as were those born and reared in Venice. Once the compact had been sealed, they transported a doge to Thessaloniki with a squadron of ten triremes and, as he was escorted into the city, Despot Andronikos was conducted out.¹⁷⁰ After acclaiming the new doge, the triremes returned to Venice. It is noteworthy that from this moment the number of Turkish attacks increased. "This city is ours," the Turks contended, "for had we not brought her to her knees by the force of our arms, she would not have gone over to you." Such arrogant claims aroused the Thessalonians and a mighty battle was waged, but the Turks prevailed while the Thessalonians starved. The Latins became afraid that the Romans, suffering greatly, would rise up and revolt and introduce the Turks into the city to expel the Venetians (the city had formerly belonged to the Turks),¹⁷¹ so they decided to move the households of the Roman nobility outside Thessaloniki, dividing them between Euboea, Crete, and Venice. The following pretense for so doing was broadcasted about: "Provisions are scarce—wheat, barley, pulse, meat, and every other kind of food. To decrease the number of households, therefore, because of this distressing situation, let the most eminent men be resettled; later, with God's help, they will return to their homes." Many were moved and settled here and there. Many were cast into the depths of the sea while others were tortured as infidels. Those who remained in the city were maltreated in countless acts of unprovoked violence. On

Murad's return from Asia to Thrace, the Venetians dispatched ambassadors to petition him for peace. He did not deign to give them a reply, however, but only remarked, "This city is my paternal property. My grandfather Bayazid, by the might of his hand, wrested her from the Romans. Had the Romans prevailed over me, they would have cause to exclaim, 'He is unjust!' But as you are Latins from Italy, why have you trespassed into these parts? You have the choice of withdrawing. If you do not, I will come posthaste." Their mission having failed, they sent back his reply in writing to Venice on the Triremes of the *Gardia*, that is, the Guard.

5. With the arrival of spring, Murad set out from Adrianople and went to Serres. After he had assembled his western army there, he wrote to Hamza to lead the eastern troops across the straits into Thessaly. When they had joined forces, he dispatched Hamza to Thessaloniki with all his troops. Murad stayed in Serres indulging himself in the good things of that place. Because he was a young man at that time, about twenty-five years of age, he delighted in revels. While daily launching attacks against Thessaloniki, Hamza raised a palisade. The troops within the city were outnumbered by the Turks a hundred-to-one. After scaling ladders, siege engines, and war machines were prepared in great numbers, Hamza notified Murad to come so that they could begin their final assault. The defenders were hoping for the arrival of triremes from Venice. Murad arrived and made final preparations for the attack. The triremes, however, did not arrive. Murad, summoning his troops by trumpet call, addressed them, "Lo, I give you everything in this city—men, women, children, silver and gold. Only leave me the city." Then, when the trumpets had sounded the attack and the scaling ladders were placed in position (what could five hundred or a thousand or two thousand men accomplish in such a large city? There was barely one crossbowman to cover ten turrets), the Turks ascended and were immediately inside the city. They threw open one gate and the entire army rushed inside like a swarm of bees. Then indeed a strange event happened. Men and women, youths and maidens, adolescents and infants were strung together like chains and pulled along by horsemen. As they were dragged along, they cried out, "Ah! Woe!" But there was none to show mercy or to extend a

helping hand. This was the evil and ill-fated firstfruits of future calamities destined to befall the imperial capital. Houses were stripped, temples ravaged, and church adornments and sacred relics fell into unclean hands. Chaste virgins fell into the embraces of profligates, and noblewomen into the arms of the ignoble! All things turned to evil. What and how and why? Because of our sins! In one day a city of such magnitude was emptied and made desolate.¹⁷² Gathering the Turkish inhabitants from the surrounding villages and towns, and their wives and children, the ruler installed them in Thessaloniki, issuing instructions that if any of the Romans were ransomed and freed, "let him be allowed to come and dwell again in this city." He consecrated the most eminent monasteries, whose fame was known far and wide, as altars for their own worship, with the exception of the Church of the Great Martyr Demetrios. Murad entered inside and sacrificed a ram with his own hands; then he prayed. He commanded later that the church should remain in the hands of the Christians. The Turks, however, carried off the ornaments of the tomb and of the church as well as everything inside the sanctuary, leaving only bare walls. From Thessaloniki, Murad returned to Adrianople. Shortly afterwards the Venetians, fearful that they would also lose Euboea, dispatched ambassadors and sued for peace.

6. In those days there appeared one of the many bastard sons of Mircea, the profligate voivode of Vlachia. As an officer of the army he had access to the palace of Emperor John where daily he deliberated with young men knowledgeable in both warfare and acts of sedition. There happened to be at that time certain Vlachs in Constantinople who were willing to take him along with them. They set out from Constantinople and brought him to a certain place on the Vlachian frontier where daily many people streamed in and a mighty encampment was established. The nation of the Vlachs was in a state of confusion and, consequently, could easily be manipulated to serve the machinations of those contesting for power.

7. The voivode at this time was Mircea's nephew, his brother's son Danos, who when he learned of Mircea's death (Mircea had accompanied Murad on his campaign against the City, but as he was standing ready in battle-array, he and the Turks fell into an ambush), furtively escaped into the City. He

revealed his identity to the emperor, after which he sallied forth with the Romans and performed many brave deeds against the Turks. As soon as Murad had departed from the City without having achieved his purpose, Danos made obeisance to the emperor and requested that he be allowed to return immediately to his own land. The emperor rewarded him with gifts and, putting him on one of his largest warships, transported him by way of the Black Sea to Asprokastron. The nobles of Vlachia, who were gathered there, acclaimed him the ruler and restored him to his grandfather's throne after killing Mircea's bastard son. As soon as he became master of all Vlachia, he dispatched ambassadors to Murad to make peace with him. The embassy was successful because Murad was virtuous in character and gentle. After Danos submitted the annual tribute, he ruled Vlachia and was at peace with all his neighbors.

8. Let our narrative now return to Dracul, for thus was he called, being cunning in his ways; the name is translated *evil*. Dracul engaged Danos in battle and, being the victor, cut off his head; he was then installed as lord of his father's dominion. On learning of the tragic event, Murad bore it grievously. He had with him, however, another brother of Danos, whom he wished to install as ruler in place of his murdered brother. He sent him with a force to Vlachia, but Dracul waged a hard fought battle against the invaders, and routed them, utterly destroying them. He then killed Danos' brother, and succeeded to the throne.

9. In this year one of Karaman's officials arrived, informing Murad that in his stables there was an Arabian stallion which in speed and size, color, symmetry of body and limbs was like no other and had been trained and bred with much care and diligence by the Arabs. Murad, who longed to possess such a prize, sent a trusted servant to ask for the horse. From Karaman's message, Murad assumed that the horse would be given him as a token of friendship or, at least, in exchange for a price. Murad was always berating and threatening Karaman while boasting of his own successes as well as those of his father and grandfather against Karaman's principality. He was confident, therefore, that, one way or another, he would gain possession of the horse. Karaman's intention, however, was to deny Murad his wish. He asked Murad's servant, "Is your lord able to mount this horse?" He pointed to the horse with his finger. The servant

answered, "It is not for me to answer whether he can or not. Only he can tell you. Tell me what I am to reply to my lord." Karaman responded, "Tell your lord, 'You are not capable of mounting this horse as it is high-spirited. Why, I myself am barely able to mount it. For this reason, I will not send it to you.'" When Murad was given this message, his heart hardened. He quickly collected his troops and crossed the straits to Prusa where he remained briefly while the eastern army was being assembled.

10. Dracul, voivode of Vlachia, also crossed the straits and after arriving in Prusa, sought an audience with Emir Murad, to whom he declared his submission and promised that whenever Murad needed to cross into Hungary, he would afford him passage. Moreover, he in person would be his guide as far as the borders of Alamania and Russia [that is, Poland]. Delighted by this commitment, Murad invited Dracul to eat and drink at his table and, according him high honors and lavishing upon him and his companions, who were more than three hundred in number, many gifts, he embraced and dismissed him.

11. From Prusa Murad marched to Kutahiya and then crossed into Karaman's principality. He subdued two towns, one is called Aşqyari in Turkish, and the other a two days' journey from Ikonion, is called Begsâri. Karaman, unable to resist Murad, dispatched his most trusted officials as ambassadors offering to surrender large sums of money, the stallion, and the two towns which he had taken, together with their fields and villages, if only he would turn back. Murad's sister who was married to Karaman, making the men brothers-in-law, also sent him imploring letters. Yielding to their pleas, Murad concluded a peace treaty and returned home.¹⁷³

XXX

1. When Murad arrived in Adrianople, he learned that the despot of Serbia, Lazar's son and brother-in-law of Bayazid

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Yildirim, was dead. He dispatched ambassadors to his successor,¹⁷⁴ demanding all Serbia. The deceased Stefan had died childless and, therefore, had no heir. However he did have a nephew, born of his sister Mara, the daughter of Lazar. George was the son of Vuk Branković, Lazar's son-in-law. Welcoming the ambassadors and granting them honors to befit their rank, he reflected upon the caprices of the dragon: if he were given enough to eat to allay his hunger, he might be content for a while; if he were not satisfied, however, he would then open his mouth wide and proceed to gulp down both Serbia and Bulgaria and all his paternal lands. He decided to take advantage of the occasion and offered his daughter to Murad in marriage¹⁷⁵ with the greater portion of Serbia, presumably as a dowry, and all he asked for in return was a peace pact sealed by sacred oaths. Who will list the number of gold and silver coins given? He dispatched ambassadors to Murad, and they convinced the ruler. The latter sent Saruja, one of his viziers, to betroth the maiden to him and to make oaths to George and receive his solemn pledge. Saruja met with Despot George and, concluding the betrothal ceremonies, returned. George requested permission to build a fortress on the banks of the Danube, and Murad complied by issuing him a decree. The despot began to build Smederovo.¹⁷⁶

2. With the approach of summer, Murad led an expedition into Hungary. They crossed the Danube at Nikopolis, where he was met by Dracul who, embracing him with expressions of great joy, escorted Murad with his own army. After a march of four days, they crossed the border into Hungary and found the land deserted. Apprised of Murad's invasion, the Hungarians had moved out of the towns and small fortresses. The Turks overran large expanses of deserted land, taking nothing but a small fortress and that by accident. The men had gone out in search of needed provisions and were absent from the town when the Turks, riding by in the morning, found the gates open. With no one to oppose them they entered, seized the booty, and departed. Although they advanced as far as Zipenion (this is one of the most famous cities of Hungary), they dared go no further. The citizens, glaring fiercely at the Turks, resisted them boldly and did not even bother to shut the gates which had been left open. Heavy losses were inflicted on the Turks, who fell back hastily. Dracul always had to lead the way

because Murad was afraid that he might attempt to ambush him. When they reached the Danube, they crossed over. At that time the king was but an infant¹⁷⁷ and there was no regent. Because of the boldness of the Turks, the queen installed one of the nobles as regent, the grand domestic of the army,¹⁷⁸ a daring and magnanimous man, and in warfare another Achilles or Hector.

3. After crossing the Danube, Murad returned to Adrianople and dispatched Saruja to escort his bride from Serbia. When Saruja arrived, the despot received him with great honor for he had been crowned that winter. Emperor John, who dispatched George Philanthropinos with the insignia of office, installed him as despot of Serbia.¹⁷⁹ Saruja set out with the bride, who brought with her much treasure and gold-embroidered garments, and was escorted by her two brothers. As soon as they arrived, the nuptials were celebrated with great joy. Murad had previously taken for his wife the daughter of Isfendiyar,¹⁸⁰ but he longed more for this new bride who was beautiful in both body and soul. When the nuptial festivities had been concluded, Murad cordially dismissed his wife's brothers after offering them many gifts. Since autumn had arrived, he remained in Adrianople. Sometimes he engaged in the sport of hunting game or he occupied himself with spectacles and drinking bouts.

4. With the coming of spring, he conceived an evil plot against the despot, his father-in-law. His counselor in this was one of his nobles, whose name was Fathallah, a maleficent man and an implacable enemy of Christians. At the beginning of Murad's reign, he was grand keeper of the Archives. Later, when the ruler recognized his cunning, sharpness of mind, and soberness of judgment in his counsels, and, moreover, his despisement of Christians, he appointed him vizier. One day, Fathallah remarked to Murad, "Why is it, Lord, that you have not utterly destroyed the enemies of our faith? God has given you this great dominion, and you show your disdain by treating them in a way which is not pleasing to God. You enfold them with benevolent forbearance. As this cannot be the will of God, let your sword consume the flesh of the impious until they revert to the teaching of the one God and His great Prophet. You must know, O Ruler, that the fortress, erected by the despot of Serbia, is not to our advantage. Let it be taken

from him, therefore, and it will be useful to us for crossing from Serbia into Hungary. Let us take from him also the mines which produce gold and silver like perpetual streams pouring out an endless flow of water. If we have control of these, we can take Hungary and advance beyond to Italy, humbling the enemies of our faith." The ruler, ingenuous and having no evil in his heart, heeded the words of Satan. He dispatched ambassadors to the despot of Serbia, demanding the surrender of the newly erected fortress of Smederovo. The despot reminded Murad of the solemn pledge he had given and of their kinship. But the tyrant ignored the despot's protest and marched against him. He arrived at Smederovo at that time of summer when the fortress's granary and storehouses were empty. He kept the fortress under surveillance; after it had been blockaded for three months, it capitulated from lack of supplies. The gates were opened and the defenders came out to make obeisance to him. Within were the despot's eldest son and his maternal uncle, Thomas Kantakouzenos.¹⁸¹ Murad installed a large Turkish garrison and then departed and went to Novo Brdo, the mother of cities.¹⁸² After an assault was launched on the city, it capitulated and thus all of Serbia fell into the hands of the Turks. With the advent of winter, Murad returned to Adrianople. The despot's two sons (one was in Adrianople before Murad marched against Smederovo, while the other was apprehended in the fortress and taken to Adrianople) were sent captive to Amaseia in the East where Murad, following the advice of Fathallah, had their eyes gouged out.

5. Dracul, who came to Adrianople to make obeisance to Murad, was seized and sent in chains to Gallipoli where he was incarcerated in the tower on the pretext that he intended to betray Murad when leading him through Hungary and on other trumped-up charges which Fathallah had contrived. When he had spent many days in the tower, they demanded his sons as hostages. He accordingly sent for them and when they arrived, he delivered them even though they were still adolescents. Murad took them into custody and had them conveyed to the fortress of Nymphaion in Asia with orders that they be carefully guarded. Dracul was allowed to return to Vlachia after giving his solemn oath that he would be a faithful servant in the future.

6. With the arrival of spring, Murad mustered a huge

army from both Asia and Thrace and marched against Belgrade. The foundations of Belgrade, a strongly fortified city of Serbia, were laid between two rivers, the Danube and the Sava. Not long before, at the request of the kral of Hungary, ¹⁸³ Despot George ceded Belgrade to him, afraid that the Turks would take the city and, once they had crossed the Danube, would proceed to subdue the cities of both Hungary and Serbia. The despot governed a good many cities on the far side of the river. Moreover the Hungarians, being the stronger warriors, could better defend Belgrade. At the time Murad had made his demand for the surrender of Smederovo, the despot crossed the Danube seeking refuge in his cities on the far side of the river, for the Hungarians had offered to provide him with protection. Consequently, the Turks despised him.

7. Murad arrived at Belgrade and pitched his tents in a circle. He proceeded to construct mangonels of diverse sizes and to throw up earthen mounds. He also fitted out a squadron of more than one hundred triremes to navigate the river. After a siege of six months, however, he accomplished nothing on either land or river. Instead, he sustained heavy losses of nobles and servants as a result of both pestilential disease and the missiles discharged by the fortress's war engines. ¹⁸⁴ They shot lead balls as large as a Pontic walnut from a bronze apparatus whose tube held the balls in rows of five or ten. The back end of the bronze tube was filled with a powder compounded of natron, sulphur, and salicaceous charcoal. When a burning cinder or flaming spark came into contact with this powder, it suddenly ignited thereby compressing the air. The compressed air, of necessity, impels the balls, and as they are driven forward, the ball next to the powder impels the one ahead of it, and the latter impels the ball in front of it. In this way, the explosive force is transmitted to the ball located at the mouth and propels it the distance of a mile. When the ball strikes man or animal, even though they are clad in mail, the force of the shot is so overwhelming that it pierces the mail and flesh of both rider and horse without being spent or dissipated. When the ball strikes iron or any other kind of protective material, the spherical missile is compressed and transformed into a linear shape, and the ball, taking the shape of a nail, penetrates the viscera of the belly like a fiery river.

XXXI

1. In this year, [1437] Emperor John sailed to Italy to convene the synod, taking with him the patriarch, Lord Joseph, the bishops of the church, and certain imperial officials.¹⁸⁵ He had long been contemplating the Union of the Churches, and for this purpose had dispatched ambassadors to Rome to meet in advance with Pope Eugene.¹⁸⁶ The pope promised to defray the expenses of the journey and, moreover, to provide throughout their stay in Italy allowances for all the royal and church officials as well as for the emperor and the patriarch. The ecclesiastics, assembling in Constantinople from Asia, Thrace, the Peloponnesos, and the Holy Mount were about [—?] in number while the palace officials, together with the emperor, were about [—?] in number.¹⁸⁷ When the papal triremes had arrived from Italy with the necessary monies to defray their expenses, they boarded and sailed from Constantinople to Venice. Disembarking in Venice, the Romans were warmly welcomed by the inhabitants. They greeted the emperor almost as though he were their own monarch and acclaimed him as a provider for the salvation of souls. The patriarch and bishops were treated in like manner. They were allowed the use of a church where they celebrated the bloodless sacrifice. All the men and women of the city assembled to see and hear the Divine and Sacred Liturgy celebrated in the tradition of the Eastern Church. And when they had witnessed it, they wept, and from the depths of their souls they cried out, "Lord, keep Thy Church safe from the arrows of the evil one. Reunite her and remove the disagreements that divide us. We had never seen Greeks nor their rites, and we had heard of them only by distant rumor and counted them as barbarians. Now we know and are convinced that they are the first-born sons of the Church and that it is the Spirit of God Who speaks in them."

2. Leaving Venice, they traveled overland to Ferrara. After the synod's deliberations had begun there, a deadly plague struck the city. They departed and went to Florence where the synod was concluded.¹⁸⁸

3. The chief spokesman for the Greeks from among the hierarchs was Markos, metropolitan of Ephesus.¹⁸⁹ For the Italians it was Julian, cardinal of the Holy Cross, who was profoundly learned in profane wisdom and in the dogmas of the Christian faith.¹⁹⁰ Markos of Ephesus was a master of Hellenic learning¹⁹¹ and undeviating in his adherence to the decrees and canons of the holy synods. The metropolitans, Bessarion of Nicaea¹⁹² and Isidore of Russia,¹⁹³ were the most erudite of the hierarchs, together with the grand keeper of the Archives, Archdeacon Balsamon.¹⁹⁴ From among the Senate there were Gemistos of Lakedaimonia,¹⁹⁵ George Scholarios, the general justice,¹⁹⁶ and Argyropoulos.¹⁹⁷ They represented the Roman position in the debates while there were many who represented the cause of the Latins.

4. Many sessions took place. Finally, when the debates had terminated, and the Italians and Greeks, with the exception of Markos, had reached a harmonious agreement, a *horos* ("doctrinal definition") was formulated, oaths were sworn, and anathemas were imposed so that no more contradictions would ever again be raised. The essence of the *horos* was that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son as from one principle and from a unique procession which the Greeks expressed in the words "from the Father through the Son."¹⁹⁸ They subscribed to this Confession, and departed from Florence after first concelebrating the Divine Liturgy, taking Communion together, and embracing one another—all, that is, except Markos.¹⁹⁹ He was irritated by the addition to the Symbol. "Expunge it," he insisted, "from the Confession of Faith and add it anywhere else you may desire. Let it even be chanted in the churches as was done in the past with the hymn "The only-begotten Son and Word of God Who art Immortal.""²⁰⁰ The Latins objected, "If the addition contains anything blasphemous, show this to be so and we shall expunge it both from the Holy Creed and from all the theological treatises composed by the Fathers, namely, Cyril, Ambrose, Gregory [of Nazianzos], Gregory [of Nyssa], Basil, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and many others. Since we Latins have confessed the Father to be the one principle and cause and source and root of both Son and Spirit, rejecting thereby two principles, what need is there to expunge the addition? Moreover, we do not call this an addition but only a clarification and explication."

5. Following the Union in Florence, the patriarch died.²⁰¹

6. From Florence the emperor and the synod traveled overland to Venice at the pope's expense. From Venice they sailed to Boeotia in Venetian triremes by papal decree. In Boeotia they boarded both imperial and Venetian triremes and sailed to Constantinople.

7. On their arrival they found that both the empress, Lady Maria, spouse of Emperor John, and the wife of Despot Demetrios,²⁰² the emperor's brother, had died.

8. The emperor dispatched ambassadors to Murad to express his gratitude and sincere friendship. Murad was apprehensive because the emperor had journeyed to Frankia and concluded a pact of concord with the Franks, and had also become a Frank.²⁰³ Murad feared that an agreement had been reached whereby the western nations were to attack him by land and sea in order to expel him from the West. When the ambassadors explained that the emperor had gone to Italy, not for the reasons being rumored but because of dogmatic differences in their faith, he was relieved by the report.²⁰⁴

9. As soon as the hierarchs disembarked from the triremes, the Constantinopolitans, as was customary, embraced them and inquired, "How are you? What news do you bring us of the synod? Have we perchance gained the victory?" They replied, "We have betrayed our faith. We have exchanged piety for impiety. We have renounced the pure sacrifice and have become azymites."²⁰⁵ These and other statements, more abominable and foul, were heard. And who were they who made these confessions? Why, the very ones who had subscribed to the *horos*—Antony, the metropolitan of Heraklea, and all the rest! When questioned, "Why did you subscribe?" they answered, "Because we feared the Franks."²⁰⁶ When asked if the Franks had tortured them or had flogged them or perhaps had cast them into prison, they answered negatively. "But why then?" "This right hand did subscribe," they would say. "Let it be cut off. The tongue did confess. Let it be torn out by the roots." They had nothing more to say. There were some hierarchs who, in the act of signing, threatened, "We will not subscribe unless you first pay us an adequate sum of money." They paid and the pen was dipped. The number of gold coins spent on the fathers and paid into their hands to defray their

expenses was beyond counting. Afterwards, when they had regretted their action, they did not return the pieces of silver. "Therefore the Lord heard this, and was wroth: so a fire was kindled against Jacob, and anger also came up against Israel!"²⁰⁷

XXXII

1. When Despot George beheld his despotate laid bare and saw that the only possessions he still retained were a few fortresses inside Hungary, he began to be discouraged. With no one to help him, he decided to throw himself on the mercy of the kral of Hungray. Since the latter was a minor, all affairs of state were handled by his mother, the queen, and János, the Protostrator.²⁰⁸ The despot pleaded for mercy. Moved to pity or, rather, afraid that the destroyer would invade Hungary if Serbia were left defenseless, the queen instructed the general, who was exceedingly wealthy, to give George financial assistance. George, engaging a mercenary force of some twenty-five thousand horse and archers, crossed the Danube. Marching swiftly on Sofia he put the city and all the surrounding towns and villages to the torch. Nothing was left standing. The plunder was sent back to the Danube and transported across, while the troops rode toward Philippopolis. Murad mustered his western army, for he did not have the time to summon the eastern troops also, and marched to Philippopolis. The Hungarians, accompanied by the despot, came to the town called Izladi in the language of the Bulgarians which in translation means *golden*. It lies midway between Sofia and Philippopolis and has mountains and impassable copses which extend from the town to Philippopolis. Before they could cross the mountains, however, a path had to be cleared by axe-bearers and tree-cutters. The Turks succeeded in crossing the rugged mountainous terrain, and arrived opposite the Hungarian encampment, but they

did not descend into the plain because they were afraid. The Hungarians courageously ascended halfway up the mountain. The Turks poured down an endless shower of missiles but without effect. Finally, when both sides realized that they were making no headway whatsoever because of the ruggedness of the terrain, each returned whence it had come.²⁰⁹ Murad became disheartened when he reflected that during his lifetime he had never seen a Hungarian force cross the Danube but now, thanks to the despot, this had been accomplished.²¹⁰ He dispatched an ambassador to the despot and agreed to restore all his cities including Smederovo.²¹¹ Moreover, he returned the despot's blinded sons as well as the sons of Dracul. His concessions were set down in treaties sealed by sacred oaths. The despot apprised the queen of Hungary and the regent of the kingdom of these developments.²¹² János was protostrator while the king of the Saxons was the regent for the kral of Hungary. He was summoned and appointed guardian because the Catholic kral was an adolescent, only fifteen years old. The Turkish ambassadors arrived in Hungary and exchanged oaths of friendship with the king of the Saxons. It was agreed that neither would the Hungarians cross the Danube to attack Murad nor would the Turks march against the Hungarians. János, however, did not pledge his word, protesting, "I am not the despot but only the despot's servant."

2. When Murad had concluded peace with the Hungarians and Serbs,²¹³ he made preparations to attack Karaman. He assembled the forces of Thrace and Thessaly, crossed the straits, and encamped in Prusa while mustering his eastern troops. He also sent instructions to his eldest son, Ala ed-Din,²¹⁴ to collect an army from Amaseia and hasten to Ikonion, and he complied. The cause of the conflict was that at the time the despot and János had campaigned against Murad, Karaman, taking advantage of the opportunity, descended and recovered his cities which had been previously seized by Murad. Murad marched from Prusa to Kutahiya and then to Phrygia Salutaria where the armaments were made ready. From there he went to Ikonion. Karaman, fleeing with his army, crossed the borders of Syria into the mountain strongholds. Murad ravaged Ikonion without mercy and carried off much gold and silver. He marched against the city of Laranda and perpetrated outrageous

evils against the Larandinians. He continued to despoil and plunder every city and territory belonging to Karaman. He even went so far as to injure his fellow Turks. Since summer was over, Murad decided to leave Karaman's principality. He dismissed his son and his army, and they returned to Amaseia. Murad descended to Prusa and crossed the straits to Thrace. Karaman was now free to return to his own lands.

3. With the onset of winter, one of Ala ed-Din's servants arrived from Amaseia announcing his death. Murad mourned grievously because Ala ed-Din was eighteen years old and very handsome and courageous. Murad summoned all his officials and commanders and designated his second son Mehmed, a mere youth, ruler and commander-in-chief of all his subjects.²¹⁵ Murad then crossed to the East and resided in Prusa as a private citizen.

4. In the early spring, spies arrived from Hungary informing the new ruler and his counselors, Halil, Saruja, and Zaganos,²¹⁶ that many Hungarians and Vlachs were gathering along the banks of the Danube. Mehmed told his father of these developments. Astonished at the violation of the oaths, Murad reflected on what the future held in store. As summer approached, he commanded all the military forces of the East to join him by the time of the heliacal risings of the dogstar. A squadron of twenty-five triremes, sailing through the Aegean, arrived opposite Gallipoli and proceeded to block Murad's passage. Some triremes, moreover, sailed to the Sacred Mouth and prevented his crossing at that point. The Hungarians, fording the Danube, advanced without opposition. They cleared the way and, taking possession of the fortresses, arrived at Varna. Murad was distressed at finding his way blocked. Mehmed's troops, frustrated, became apprehensive. By moving his troops toward the Sacred Mouth, Murad discovered a passageway free of triremes and succeeded in crossing the straits. Mehmed's troops, who were keeping watch, followed suit and in one day joined forces with Murad. Within two days the combined armies had reached Varna. On the next day, a terrific and frightful battle was fought from early morning until the ninth hour [3 a.m.], and the Christians butchered the Turks mercilessly. At about the tenth hour the Saxon king [Vladislav III, king of Hungary and Poland], accompanied by about five hundred

troops, turned his cavalry toward the enemy. János attempted to stop him but could not. And as the Saxon king drew near, his horse was struck a mortal blow, throwing its rider headlong. The Turks decapitated him on the spot. János became aware of what had happened when he saw the head hoisted on a lance. There were cries and shouts, such as "Let him flee who can." The Turks slaughtered most of the Christians. As night fell, János barely escaped by crossing the Danube. The Turks returned with their spoils of war.²¹⁷ Murad, victorious, crossed the straits and decided to reside in Magnesia.

5. Because we Christians refused to acknowledge that our sins have enslaved us and our wicked deeds have caused our misfortunes, Fortune let fly another shaft of wrath against us. Halil, who was knowledgeable in matters of government, was convinced that the youthful ruler would never succeed. Consequently, he had Murad brought back to the palace in Adrianople to resume his rule. The young ruler, Mehmed, Murad's son, was appointed governor of Magnesia.²¹⁸

6. When János learned of these developments, he crossed the Danube and, making his way through the defiles, arrived at Niš or Kossovo. Murad waited with his entire army, and the battle began as evening fell. In the dark hours of early dawn, János left with a few soldiers, ostensibly to prepare for an early attack, and deserted. He realized that the Turkish forces were superior in numbers and that the Hungarians, intimidated, were contemplating flight. When at sunrise Murad beheld the tents of the Hungarians in disorder as they hastened to take flight, he fell upon them, and those who did not escape, he despoiled or slaughtered. Murad had won a great victory and János had suffered defeat.²¹⁹

7. After his resounding triumph, Murad decided to march against the Peloponnesos. When Constantine, despot of Lakedaimonia, was apprised of the king's arrival and the appearance of the triremes in the Hellespont, he foresaw the total destruction of the Turks. Marching out from the Hexamilion, he took Thebes and the surrounding villages. Murad, who had returned from his tremendous military success, dispatched an ambassador to Constantine demanding the surrender of the cities, but he refused to comply. Constantine instead proceeded to the Hexamilion which he had restored four years earlier, and

dug trenches around it; then he and sixty thousand people sought refuge behind its wall. Shortly thereafter Constantine and his brother Thomas, the despot of Achaia, were betrayed by the Albanians. They were alerted to the treachery, however, and escaped. Murad, advancing swiftly as far as Patras and Glarentza, laid everything waste. On his return, he razed the Hexamilion and took captive more than sixty thousand people.²²⁰

XXXIII

1. John who had suffered from gout for many years, a condition that was aggravated by the deep distress and grief he experienced after his return from Italy, partly because of the agitation resulting from the Union of the Churches, and partly because of the empress's death, fell gravely ill and within a few days died, the last to reign as emperor of the Romans. The officials summoned Constantine to Constantinople.²²¹ Constantine immediately sent ambassadors to Murad to pacify him with gifts and conciliatory messages, thus removing all animosity between them.

2. Murad desired to arrange a marriage for his son Mehmed; he secured a bride from among the princes situated along the Armenian borders, specifically, the daughter of Turgatir, the prince of the Turkomans adjacent to upper Cappadocia.²²² Murad, however, would not accept Turgatir's family as equal to his in power and wealth, but Turgatir's principality lay between that of the Turko-Persians and that of Karaman. He had, moreover, always been allied with Murad's son in Amaseia, and had often clashed with both Karaman from the south and Kara Yusuf²²³ from the north. Through this marital alliance, Murad hoped to gain added assistance and help from Turgatir. He sent his vizier Saruja to escort the bride from her father's house with the greatest honor and glory. She

brought with her many treasures and a precious dowry. When news arrived that she was approaching the straits of Gallipoli, her father-in-law Murad dispatched nobles from Adrianople and lightly armed troops to escort her to the ruler's palace in Adrianople. Murad welcomed the bride with great joy and inaugurated the wedding festivities. He had invited all the officials and subject princes of his dominion, Christians as well as Turks, and they all hastened with gifts to celebrate the nuptials. The festivities began in September and ended in December, and thus was concluded the marriage ceremony. Murad showered with many gifts her father's household troops who had escorted her, and then dismissed them. Murad's son, the groom, with his bride was assigned the government of Lydia in Asia Minor.

3. Mehmed arrived in Magnesia in the middle of January. On the fifth day of February, a courier, like a swift-winged eagle, arrived and handed a sealed letter to Mehmed. In it he read of his father's death. The letter had been sent by the viziers, Halil and the others. They disclosed his father's death²⁴ and advised Mehmed not to delay his departure but, if possible, to mount the winged horse Pegasus and make his way to Thrace before the surrounding nations learned of the ruler's demise. He heeded their words. That very hour he mounted one of his fleet Arabian stallions and said to his nobles only, "Let him who loves me, follow me." He rode swiftly, preceded by his household troops, fast running and skillful archers, all giants, so to speak, on foot, and followed by his swordsmen and lancers on horseback. Two days after setting out from Magnesia, he crossed the straits of the Chersonese. He remained another two days in Gallipoli in order to collect his followers. A courier was sent to Adrianople to announce his arrival in the Chersonese.

4. It was broadcast everywhere that the ruler was in Gallipoli so that the rabble would not revolt. It was their custom to riot during the interim from one ruler to his successor. For this reason the people are often told that the ruler is ill, keeping his death a secret. This is done especially when the successor is not present at the death. As Mehmed set out from Gallipoli, the multitudes thronged to make him obeisance. When he had reached the plain, all the court officials came to meet him, viziers and satraps, governors of provinces and of towns, initiates and teachers of their foul religion, the learned

in the sciences and the arts, and many of the rabble.²²⁵ When the throng, advancing in file, reached a point about one mile away from the ruler, they dismounted and continued their procession on foot. The ruler and his followers, however, remained mounted. Proceeding for about half a mile in dead silence, they stopped and, standing together in a body, raised their voices in loud lamentations, shedding tears all the while. Then Mehmed and his subordinates dismounted and followed suit by rending the air with wailing. The mournful cries heard that day on both sides was a spectacle indeed! After they recovered their composure, they converged. The nobles made obeisance to the ruler and kissed his hand. Mounting their horses, they rode into the city as far as the palace gate, and when the ruler had gone inside, everyone went his own way.

5. The very next day, as was customary, an official presentation took place. The youthful ruler whose reign had just begun was sitting on his paternal throne (this was not at all advantageous except as a concession made by God for our sins). All the satraps and viziers of his father, including Halil Pasha and Ishak Pasha, were standing on opposite sides and at a distance. His own viziers, Shahin the eunuch and Ibrahim,²²⁶ were standing next to him according to custom. Mehmed turned to his vizier, Shahin, and inquired, "Why do the viziers of my father stand at a distance? Summon them and tell Halil to stand in his place. Let Ishak and the governors of the East depart for Prusa to bury the remains of my father. Let him also have authority over the eastern provinces." At the conclusion of his words, they rushed forward and kissed his hand as was the custom. Halil remained as vizier, while Ishak took the ruler's corpse and with many other officials departed for Prusa with great solemnity and buried Murad's remains in the tomb which the ruler had built. At the funeral rites Ishak poured numerous gold coins into the hands of the indigent.

6. Murad's death was not the result of manifold diseases nor was it painful. He suffered less than his father because God, I suppose, judged the man according to the good deeds he performed for the benefit of the common folk, and the sympathy he expressed for the indigent, not only for those of his own nation and impious faith but also for Christians. The treaties which he sealed on sacred oath he kept inviolate and

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intact to the end. If some Christians resorted to the violation of treaties and the infraction of oaths, they did not escape the infallible eye of God. They were justly punished by the judgment of the Avenger. Murad's wrath was not intemperate. After a victory, the barbarian would not set out in hot pursuit of the fleeing enemy. Moreover, he did not thirst after the complete destruction of the fallen nation, but as soon as the vanquished sued for peace, he eagerly accepted their terms and dismissed the ambassadors in peace. He truly despised warfare and loved peace, and the Father of Peace meted out in turn a peaceful death to the barbarian instead of death by the sword.

7. All the days of his sickness were four. He had gone forth from the palace with a few youths and crossed to the spacious island created by the branching of the rivers near the city. As the land there was luxuriant, pasture and verdant herbage abounded for the nourishment of animals. The ruler's mares, mules, and proud stallions grazed there. In addition, there were many buildings to provide warmth and amusement, according to the season, and everything else that was conducive to pleasure. He wished to spend several days alone with a few of his closest companions, resting and relaxing from the cares and fatigue of the recent wedding. After spending a day on the island without experiencing his usual pleasures, he gave orders the next day to be taken to the palace, complaining that his head and body felt heavy and torpid. Lying ill in bed for three days, he suffered an epileptic fit and died on the second day of February in 6958.²²⁷

8. It is said that one night after the wedding festivities but before Murad went to the island, he saw the following vision. A man, fearful to behold, was standing in front of him. As he cowered from fear, the apparition took him by the hand. Murad was wearing a gold ring on the thumb of his right hand. Removing the ring from the ruler's thumb, the apparition placed it on his index finger. Then removing the ring from the index finger, he placed it on the middle finger. From this finger he placed the ring on the fourth finger, and finally, he placed it on the little finger. After removing the ring from the little finger, the apparition vanished with it. On awaking, the ruler summoned his seers and related the vision. The ring, they interpreted, represented the sovereignty. To the fingers they

gave the following explanation: the thumb was Murad; the other fingers were those of his line who would rule after him. Other seers secretly and silently interpreted his thumb as representing the last year of his life, the removal of the ring as the autocracy, the putting on and taking off of the ring from the four fingers as the number of years of rule for his successor, at which time the tyranny would come to an end.

Let us now return to the narrative and see what this bloodthirsty beast Mehmed corrupted and consumed and utterly destroyed during his lifetime.

9. After Mehmed sent his father's remains to Prusa for burial, he made an inventory of the treasuries and paternal treasures. Countless silver and gold vessels, precious gems, and stores of gold coins were discovered. They were stamped with his own seal and deposited again in the treasury.

10. Mehmed also discovered that his father had an infant son, about eight months old, born of a legal wife (he himself had been born of a slave woman),²²⁸ the daughter of Isfendiyar, the ruler of Sinope.²²⁹ While the boy's mother, his stepmother, was visiting in the palace one day to console the tyrant, Mehmed dispatched an official from the sons of Evrenos, Ali by name, who at that time was captain of the Palace Guard, with orders to strangle the child in his crib. The next day, Mehmed executed Ali, and married the child's mother against her will to Ishak, his father's slave.

11. His other stepmother, Mara the daughter of George, despot of Serbia, a very devout Christian, he intended to give in marriage to another common slave. Afraid, however, that her father might raise the armies of the Hungarians against him, and realizing that he still had to consolidate his own rule before it could reach the zenith of its power, he could not do what he wished. When the despot heard that his son-in-law Murad had died and that Mehmed had been invested as ruler, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to console and comfort him as an orphan and to renew and secure by oaths the treaties and compacts which he had made with Mehmed's father. Moreover, he asked for permission to bring his daughter back home. Mehmed granted the despot's requests, not because he wished to live and rule in peace and with good will but to buy time. When the appropriate moment came, he would be prepared to

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perpetrate injustices and iniquities. These things and more did he who, even before he was born, was a wolf putting on sheep's clothing. He received the ambassadors courteously, exchanged solemn pledges with them, and dismissed them in peace. He sent his stepmother to her father with much glory and honor, and, in addition, bestowed upon her many benefices and estates along the Serbian border for her sustenance and support and for her every need.

12. Emperor Constantine and the wretched and ill-fated Romans of Constantinople, on being apprised of the succession to the Ottoman throne, dispatched ambassadors to convey their condolences and their felicitations to the new ruler. Who will salute whom? The lambs, the wolf; the sparrows, the serpent; the dying, death itself! And he, the Antichrist before the Antichrist, the spoiler of the flock of my Christ, the enemy of the Cross and of all those who believe in Him Who was crucified thereon, by donning the mask of friendship the disciple of Satan transformed himself into a serpent. Mehmed welcomed the embassy, drew up new treaties, and swore by the god of the false prophet, the prophet whose name he bears, and on his vile books, and by angels and archangels to devote himself, all the days of his life, to the cause of amity and concord with the City and Emperor Constantine as well as with all the outlying villages and towns under his imperial control. He also gave his solemn pledge to live and die with the same good will and temper which his father displayed toward both former Emperor John and present Emperor Constantine. Above and beyond these fine promises, Mehmed endowed the Empire of the Romans, from the revenues of the villages situated along the Strymon, with the annual sum of three hundred thousand silver coins which the thrice-wretched Romans requested in payment for food and other needs required by Orchan, Othman's descendant.²³⁰ After the amicable and wholly satisfactory agreement was concluded, they departed rejoicing.

In like manner, the inhabitants of Vlachia, Bulgaria, and the islands, Mitylenaeans, Chians, Rhodians, and the Genoese from Galata, coming from all around with gifts, made obeisance to the truly flesh-bearing demon; after receiving satisfactory pledges, they departed.

XXXIV

1. Mehmed, who had disposed of all issues to his advantage, lulled all Christians with a false state of peace. He secured a three years' peace pact with János, regent of Hungary,²³¹ and then the evil one marched against Karaman²³² with the excuse that he was a genuine friend of Christians, and that the Christians, who are foreigners belonging to an alien religion, had a trusted friend in him. Moreover, Karaman, a Muslim and devotee of Muhammad's faith, continued to incite wars and disturbances for his own advantage. If he wished it, he therefore willed it, and willing it, it happened. It came to the ears of Mehmed that Karaman, at Murad's death, swooped down from his borderlands and seized three fortresses and much land. The fortresses and land captured were not a part of Murad's inheritance from his forefathers. A few years earlier, as mentioned above, Murad had seized them from the domain of Karaman whom he had subjugated. The usurper's son, finding a suitable pretext, marched in force against him who had been formerly wronged and was thus seeking to recover his lost possessions. Crossing the straits with his western forces, he waited in Prusa for his eastern troops. From there he marched to Kutahiya and continued to Phrygia Salutaria, called Qara Hisar by the Turks and bordered by the lands of Karaman. Apprised of Mehmed's arrival, Karaman dispatched ambassadors from among his nobles to seek a solution to the wrongs done him and the restitution of the fortresses which he had taken back by force. The tyrant consented for the reason I will now relate.

2. The foolish assembly of the Romans, which had conceived a futile plan, dispatched ambassadors to Mehmed. As is their custom, however, they first related the purpose of their mission to the viziers: "The Emperor of the Romans (they called him emperor although he had never been nor would he ever be crowned, as was foretold) does not accept the annual sum of three hundred thousand silver coins. Orchan, who is like your ruler Mehmed, a son of Othman, has reached the age of

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maturity. Every day many flock to him calling him lord and proclaiming him ruler. He desires to display his munificence by making lavish gifts, but he has nowhere to stretch forth his hands. Demands cannot be made upon the emperor because he is not prosperous enough to comply with the requests. We offer you, therefore, one of two alternatives: either double the annuity or we will release Orchan. It certainly is not our obligation to feed the sons of Othman. They should be fed instead from the public funds. It is sufficient that we detain him in the City and deny him egress." When Halil Pasha (he had always been a friend of the Romans for two reasons: one, he was affable and gentle in manner; the other, he welcomed bribes. If anyone conversed with him while holding gold in his hands so that light would be reflected from it as from a mirror, he would, without hesitation, banish every harsh word from his mouth.) heard the threatening words from the emperor and senate directed to the ruler Mehmed, he addressed the ambassadors as follows, "O stupid and foolish Romans, I know your cunning ways from long ago. Leave well enough alone! The deceased ruler was gentle and to all he was a sincere friend and a man of upright conscience. Our present ruler Mehmed, however, is not of the same disposition as you seem to imagine. If Constantino-ple succeeds in escaping from his hands—I speak of his insolence, savagery, and violence—then I will know that God still ignores your machinations and perversions. Foolish men, the solemn pact signed a few days ago is in our hands, and, in a manner of speaking, is not yet dry. Yet now, because we have crossed to the East and are sojourning in Phrygia, you want to frighten us by dangling before us the usual bugbears which you fabricate. We are not children without sense or strength. If there is something you can do, do it. If you wish to install Orchan as ruler in Thrace, do so. If you intend to have the Hungarians cross the Danube, let them come. And if you wish to swoop down and recover what you formerly lost, go ahead. Be certain, however, that you will not succeed in any of these projects. Instead, that which you think is yours will be taken from you. Nonetheless, I will make your message known to my lord, and let it be as he wishes."

3. When Mehmed heard these demands, he was filled with rage but could do nothing at the moment except conclude

a peace treaty with Karaman. His impulse was to annihilate Karaman, but he reflected, "Might not the Emperor of the Romans, while I am in the East, summon the Christian nations, releasing at the same time Orchan who, with their aid, will become Lord of the East while ceding the western provinces to the Romans?" As he pondered such possibilities, he looked upon Karaman's ambassadors with a cheerful eye. By the use of threats, on the one hand, and gentle persuasion, on the other, he secured a solemn peace pact and then dismissed them with a show of affection. To the emperor's ambassadors he replied, "Soon I will be in Adrianople. Come to me there and report to me all the urgent needs of the emperor and the City, and I will readily grant every request." He flattered them with such affable sentiments and then dismissed them.

4. Mehmed crossed the straits a few days later, and entered Adrianople. He immediately dispatched a servant to the villages along the Strymon, cut off the revenues which had been assigned the emperor, and drove out those officials appointed to oversee and supervise its collection. The emperor had enjoyed those revenues only one year.

5. After this action he undertook another against the Romans which inflicted deadly injury. At the onset of winter, mandates and proclamations were sent to every province in the East and West to furnish one thousand skilled masons as well as an equal number of laborers and limestokers. Provisions were also to be made for the transportation of building materials required for the construction, in the spring, of a fortress at the Sacred Mouth above the City. When the Romans heard the bitter news, the Christians of Constantinople, Asia, Thrace, and the islands trembled in their deep distress. Their only comment was, "Now the end of the City is at hand. Behold the omens of our nation's ruin. Now are the days of Antichrist. What will become of us and what will we do? Let our lives be taken from us, O Lord. Let not the eyes of Thy servants see the destruction of the City. Let not Thine enemies say 'O Emperor, where are the guardian saints of this City?'" It was not only the Christians in the City who lamented aloud in such a manner but all the Christians dispersed throughout the East and West and those dwelling in the islands also wept loudly.

6. With the advent of spring, Mehmed sent out orders

everywhere for the masons and laborers to assemble. The emperor dispatched ambassadors to Mehmed in Adrianople but not to request any of those things he desired, not even that the annuity be doubled. They addressed the following words to him instead, "Some one hundred years or more have elapsed since your forefather Murad, Orchan's son, seized Adrianople. In their treaties with us, none of his descendants, except yourself, has ever considered the erection of a tower or hut within the environs of the City. Even when there was cause and both sides proposed battle, yet by making a compromise they preserved peace. When your grandfather Mehmed wished to build a fortress on the eastern shore of the straits,²³³ he made this request which was not a small one of Emperor Manuel like a son importuning his father. He assented on the grounds that the work was to be constructed in the East which for many years had been inhabited by the Ottomans. Now that all is going well with you, you are obviously determined to close the Black Sea to the Franks in order to starve the City and to deprive her of her customs duties. We entreat you, therefore, renounce this design and we will be your genuine friends just as we were the friends of your father, the honorable ruler. If you wish us to pay tribute, we will do so." Mehmed replied, "I take nothing from the City. Beyond the fosse she owns nothing. If I desire to build a fortress at the Sacred Mouth, the emperor has no right to stop me. Both the fortresses situated east of the Sacred Mouth, wherein Turks reside, as well as all the uninhabited lands of the West are under my authority, and the Romans have no permission to dwell there. Can you be ignorant of my father's difficult and dreadful predicament at the time the emperor conspired with the Hungarians? Did not the emperor introduce the triremes of the Franks into the Hellespont which proceeded to blockade the straits of Gallipoli, thus barring passage to my father? He moved his troops, therefore, close to the Sacred Mouth, and from the site of the fortress which his father had built, God willing, the troops crossed in light boats. The emperor's triremes were on patrol there to prevent the crossing. I was a lad waiting in Adrianople, anticipating the arrival of the Hungarians. As the Hungarians plundered the country around Varna, the emperor exulted and the *gavurs* rejoiced, while the Muslim nation was in distress. When my father,

who had been exposed to many dangers, had safely crossed the straits, he vowed to build another fortress on the western shore opposite the fortress on the eastern shore. He did not live to achieve this but, with God's help, I will do so. Why do you stop me? Is it not permissible for me to do as I wish in my own lands? Go and tell the emperor, 'The present ruler is not like his predecessors. The things which they were unable to do, he can achieve at once and with ease, and those things which they did not wish to do, he both desires and is determined to accomplish. The next man who comes here to discuss this matter will be flayed alive.' " After the emperor's ambassadors had heard the tyrant's reply as he vented his wrath and fury, they returned to the City to tell the emperor of these developments. Then the entire populace of the City, full of anguish and fear, told one another, "He it is who will enter the City and destroy and enslave her inhabitants, trample upon the Blessed Sacraments, demolish the holy churches, and cast on the squares and cross-roads the relics of divinely inspired men and martyrs deposited in them. Alas! What shall we do? Where shall we go?" Thus did the wretches bewail and lament their fate.

7. Spring arrived and with the passing of March the slaked lime was made ready in the furnaces of Kataphygia which were in daily operation. The wooden beams were brought out of Nikomedia and Pontoheraklea, and the stones came from the East. According to their instructions, all the governors of both eastern and western provinces took with them those who had been impressed into service and departed. Mehmed, leaving Adrianople, went to the site which he had designated for the laying down of the fortress's foundation. On a ridge beneath Sosthenion which, from ancient times, was called Phonevs ("Murderer"), he ordered the foundation laid in a triangular shape. When this was completed, he commanded that the fortress be named *Baş-kesen* which translates into Greek as "Decapitator." ²³⁴ Directly opposite was the fortress his grandfather had built.

8. He apportioned the construction work in the following manner. To Halil Pasha he assigned one of the angles facing the sea in which he was to erect a tower as enormous and as solid as an acropolis. To Zaganos he assigned the construction of a large tower in the second angle facing the land. To Saruja

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he assigned the erection of a tower in the third angle. These three towers, serving as citadels for purposes of defense, were to be built at the individual expense of each. The ruler undertook the construction of the wall and the remaining portions of the fortress. To behold the throngs streaming in from all parts of the earth at the order of the tyrant, together with the *kadis*, that is, the judges, who were given the power of capital punishment, was indeed a spectacle. Mehmed divided the construction work by assigning one cubit per mason. Outside the walls there were one thousand masons, and each mason was given two assistants. Within there was an equal number of masons and assistants who carried stones, slaked lime, and baked bricks beyond number. Aware of the tyrant's savagery, even the nobles some times assisted by carrying stones and slaked lime. From the opposite shore of the straits the workmen conveyed building materials taken from the ruins of the great dedicatory monuments of antiquity strewn about toward Byzantium. As they were removing several columns from the ruins of the Church of the Archangel Michael, some of the inhabitants of the City, angered by what was happening, tried to stop the Turks, but they were all captured and put to death by the sword.

9. When the Emperor observed that the tyrant's determination was being fulfilled, he changed his tactic. He dispatched his ambassadors to find defenders for the Romans in the outlying villages of the City so that the Turks, as it was almost time for the harvest, would not pass through and ravage the crops. Compelled by necessity to lavish favors on the untamed dragon, he daily sent him many gifts as well as food and drink. Mehmed sent several of his servants with instructions to inspect and watch the actions of those sustaining damages, commanding them not to obstruct the Turks from entering the pastures of the Romans to feed their animals, whether they were mules or horses or any other beasts of burden serving the needs of the fortress. All were to be allowed to graze at will. "And when the Romans in anger resist the Turks, then you also, with the Turks, will fight back."

10. In those days, Isfendiyar's son, Murad's son-in-law who was married to Mehmed's sister, in obedience to the public decree, marched from Adramyntion with those under his charge

to assist the ruler in the public conscription of labor at the fortress. As they approached the fortress of Epivatai,²³⁵ the horses and pack animals were set loose to graze on the crops of the Romans and they proceeded to ravage the grain and all other kinds of green vegetables. When one of the Romans beheld the devastation of his crops over which he had labored hard and long, he chased the horses from the field. One of the mounted Turks overtook the Roman and struck him a blow. A kinsman of the smitten man came running and he was followed by a second. The Turks likewise rushed to the scene with swords drawn. Joining battle, both Turks and Romans were slain. Then Qaya Beg (this was his name), arriving before the ruler the next day and making obeisance to him according to custom, reported all that had taken place at Epivatai. Without requesting any further information or explication, Mehmed commanded Qaya Beg to set out with his troops posthaste and to cut down by the sword all the inhabitants of that village. And it was done. The farmers had gone to their fields in the morning to reap the harvest when, suddenly, Qaya Beg appeared. The Turks fell upon them and massacred all of them, about forty in number. This was the beginning of the conflict which led to the destruction of the Romans.

11. When the emperor heard of the incident, he shut the City gates, and all the Turks found inside were bound and taken into custody. Three days later, however, he set them free. What could he do? From among the Turks who were rounded up there were some young eunuchs from the ruler's palace who, on being presented to the emperor, said, "If you will release us, O Emperor, before the sun sets in the West, we will be grateful to you. If, however, we do not return to the ruler by the time the sun has set, but are released later, it will not do us any good but only result in our deaths. For this reason, show us mercy and release us now. Otherwise, command that our heads be chopped off. It is better to die at your hands than at the hands of the common destroyer of the universe." Heeding their plea, the emperor changed his mind and released them at that time. He dispatched ambassadors to say to the tyrant, "Since you have chosen the way of battle and neither with oaths nor with flattery am I able to prevail upon you, do what you will. As for myself, I take refuge in God and if it be His will to deliver this

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City into your hands, who is able to stop you? If again He implants peace in your heart, this I would also gladly welcome. For the present, however, take back your treaties and oaths. From this moment on, with the City gates secured, I will defend the inhabitants within as long as there is strength in me. As for yourself, continue to rule as an oppressor until the Righteous Judge shall render unto each of us the just verdict." When the barbarian heard these words, he made no attempt to justify his action but forthwith ordered a declaration of war to be made.²³⁶ Six months earlier, foreseeing the future, the emperor diligently prepared the City's fortifications and moved inside those villagers living nearby. The harvested wheat and the winnowing fans were also brought inside.

12. When the ruler had completed the well-built fortress and had extended the width of the walls and the towers by thirty spans and the height to a comparable degree, he placed in the tower of Halil Pasha bronze tubes capable of discharging balls weighing over six hundred pounds. Firuz Aga, one of his most trusted slaves, was placed in charge of the fortress and commanded, "Do not allow ships sailing from the Hellespont to the Black Sea or from the Black Sea to the Hellespont, no matter under whose flag they may be sailing—Genoese, Venetian, Constantinopolitan, Kaffatinian, Trapezundian, Amisinian, Sinopean, or even under my own flag, and no matter what class they are, triremes, biremes, barques, or skiffs—²³⁷ to sail through without first lowering their sails and paying customs duties; only after they have done so will you permit them to proceed on their way. Use the cannon to sink the ship that does not comply and submit." After giving these and other orders and assigning four hundred youths to garrison the fortress, the braggart left for Adrianople, having completed everything in four months. It was now the second year of his reign in the year 6961 [1452] from the foundation of the world.

XXXV

1. With the passing of summer and the beginning of autumn, although Mehmed remained in his palace, he took no rest. Night and day his only concern was how to take the City and become her master. While he was directing the construction of the fortress, a cannon founder came from the City, a Hungarian by nationality and a very competent technician.²³⁸ He had come to Constantinople long ago; after he made his trade known to the emperor's chief ministers, they mentioned it to the emperor. Although the emperor had authorized an unworthy stipend for his skill, the artisan was not given even this paltry and unsubstantial sum. His circumstances became desperate, so one day he left the City and went to the barbarian. Mehmed welcomed him gladly and generously supplied him with food and clothing. If the emperor had given him but a quarter of the remuneration which he received at the hands of Mehmed, he would not have fled from Constantinople. When he was questioned by the ruler if he could cast a cannon large enough to enable a stone enormous enough to penetrate the strength and thickness of the City's walls, he replied, "I am able, if you so wish, to construct a cannon as great as the size of the stone shown me. I have precise knowledge of the City's walls. The stone discharged from my cannon would reduce to dust not only those walls but even the walls of Babylon. I will complete the whole operation satisfactorily but I am not competent to discharge the stone and I could not guarantee to do that." When the ruler heard this, he replied, "Cast the cannon for me and I will see to the discharging of the stone." A supply of bronze was provided and the technician fashioned the matrix of the apparatus. In three months' time, a terrifying and extraordinary monster was forged and cast.²³⁹

2. A large Venetian vessel, commanded by a man named Rizzo,²⁴⁰ at this time sailed through the Mouth without lowering its sails before the fortress of Baš-kesen. The fortress's garrison discharged an enormous stone which shattered the ship.

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As the vessel began to sink, the captain and thirty survivors boarded a boat and made it ashore. The Turks seized them, bound their hands and necks in chains, and, placing them in single file, brought them before Mehmed who was then sojourning in Didymoteichos. He gave orders to behead them all except the captain whose life was to be taken by a stake through the anus. Moreover, they were to be left uninterred. I saw them a few days later after my arrival there.

3. In January Mehmed came to Adrianople from Didymoteichos. Since every piece of military equipment was ready, he wished to test the cannon which the technician had constructed. Placing it skillfully before the great gate of the courtyard of the palace buildings which he had built that year, inserting the stone carefully and measuring out the powder, he planned to discharge it the next day. All of Adrianople was notified that the impending blast and crash would be like thunder from the heavens so that the sudden shock would not leave some speechless or cause pregnant women to abort. In the morning when he ignited the powder and the air became heated, the stone when discharged, was propelled from the cannon with a piercing air-rending sound, and the air was filled with smoke and haze. The explosion could be heard over ten miles away. The stone landed one mile from the point of departure and the hole it made where it fell was one fathom deep. Such was the power of the gunpowder which propelled the stone.

4. Night and day the ruler's only care and concern, whether he was lying in bed or standing on his feet, or within his courtyard or without, was what battle plan and stratagem to employ in order to capture Constantinople. Often in the evening and in the guise of a soldier, he would ride about with only two other companions or he would wander through the entire city of Adrianople on foot, listening to what was being said about him. If anyone recognized the ruler and wished to address him with the customary acclamation, without compunction or mercy he would forthwith strike him a mortal blow. Just as one feels a certain pleasure in crushing a flea, so did he—who himself deserved to be murdered!—refresh himself by murdering with his own hands.

5. One night, about the time of the second watch, Mehmed sent several palace guards to bring Halil Pasha to him.

When the guards reached their destination, they delivered the command to Halil's eunuchs who, on entering his bedchamber, announced that the ruler wished to see him. Halil, trembling and despairing for his life, embraced his wife and children. He set out, taking with him a golden salver filled with gold coins—he had always been afraid in his heart for the reason I stated earlier. When he entered the ruler's bedchamber, he saw that he was sitting up and was fully dressed. Making obeisance, Halil placed the salver before the ruler, who then asked, "What is this, *lala*?"—or as one would say in our common language, *tata*, that is, "teacher." Halil replied, "Lord, it is a custom among the satraps that when the ruler summons one of the nobles at an unusual hour, he does not come before his person empty-handed. I have brought no gifts belonging to me. I merely offer you "thine own of thine own."²⁴¹ The ruler responded, "I have no need of your treasures; instead I will give you more. I ask only one thing: that the City be given me." When Halil heard this, he became terrified because he had always protected the Romans, and the Romans considered him their agent and they would fill his right hand with gifts. He was known to everyone as *gavur ortagi*, that is, the companion or helper of the infidels. Then Halil, in reply, said to the ruler, "Lord, God who has given you the greater portion of the land of the Romans, will also grant you the City. I am convinced that she will not slip through your hands. Together with God and your might, I and all your servants will fight as one, not only with our wealth but also with our flesh and blood. You may be certain of that." These words temporarily tamed the wild beast and he said to Halil, "See this pillow? I have passed the whole night dragging it about from one corner of the bedchamber to the other, reclining and rising, without sleep. Therefore I say to you, let neither silver nor gold entice you to cast aside the resolution you have now given me. Let us struggle steadfastly against the Romans. By placing our trust in the assent of God and in the prayer of the Prophet, we will take the City." With these and other flattering words during which he interjected biting reminders which constrict the heart and dry up the blood, he dismissed Halil saying, "Go in peace."

6. During the nights he spent his time planning the attack against the City. Using paper and ink, he traced the

City's fortifications and designated to those skilled in siege warfare where and how to place the cannon, the breastworks, the trenches, the entrance into the fosse, and on which wall the scaling ladders were to be placed. In other words, he staged every operation during the night and in the morning his orders were executed, for he attended to these things judiciously and cunningly.

XXXVI

1. We will now see the care and concern of the Constantinopolitans to save the City from the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. The emperor earlier had sent word to Rome that in return for aid he and his subjects would comply with the concord and union consummated in Florence.²⁴² Moreover, the pope would be commemorated in the Great Church and Patriarch Gregory would return to his throne.²⁴³ He invited the pope to dispatch legates so that he might pacify the implacable hatred caused by the schism. The pope sent Isidore, cardinal of Poland and former archbishop of Russia, a sagacious and prudent man, learned in Orthodox doctrine, a Roman by descent, a venerable father, and one of those present at the Council, as previously stated. Arriving at the island of Chios in a large Genoese ship, he remained there some days while the ship's merchants transacted their business. They delivered needed supplies and took on a new cargo while waiting for a second ship which was to sail with them to Kaffa.²⁴⁴ The cardinal, who had with him some fifty Italians, hired for pay many other Latins from Chios. When the ship for which they were waiting appeared, they left Chios and sailed for Constantinople, arriving there in November of the year 6961 [1452].²⁴⁵

2. After the emperor had received them with the courtesy and honor befitting their station, they came to the topic of Union.²⁴⁶ The emperor and several representatives of the

Church assented to the Union. However, the greater portion of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, abbots, archimandrites, nuns—why do I say the greater portion? It was the nuns who urged me to speak and to write. Not one among them assented to the Union. Even the emperor only pretended to do so. Nonetheless, they who appeared to be in favor of the Union came to the Great Church. Both priests and deacons from the clergy, and the emperor and the senate wished to celebrate the Liturgy unto God with a common devotion and to render the prayers with a clear conscience.

3. Then the schismatic group,²⁴⁷ coming to the cell of Gennadios, the former George Scholarios,²⁴⁸ in the Monastery of the Pantokrator, said to him, "And what shall we do?" He was in seclusion, but he took paper and set down his opinion in writing, thus making his counsel known. His message read as follows: "Wretched Romans, how you have been deceived! Trusting in the might of the Franks you have removed yourselves from the hope of God. Together with the City which will soon be destroyed, you have lost your piety. Be Thou merciful to me, O Lord. I give witness before Thee that I am innocent of this offense. Know, O wretched citizens, what you do! Captivity is about to befall you because you have lost the piety handed down to you by your fathers and you have confessed your impiety. Woe unto you in the judgment." Writing this and much more and nailing the document to the door of his cell, he shut himself in; and it was read.

4. Then those nuns, who considered themselves to be pure and dedicated to God in Orthodoxy, with common resolve and in accord with their teacher Gennadios, and with the abbots and the confessors and the remaining priests and laymen, cried aloud the anathema. The Article of Union of the Council and those who had acquiesced in the past and who acquiesce in the present and will acquiesce in the future, they anathematized. The common and low-born populace, coming from the courtyard of the monastery and going into taverns, anathematized the Unionists while holding bottles of unwatered wine in their hands and drinking to the intercession of the icon of the Mother of God. They beseeched her to protect and defend the City against Mehmed as she had done in the past against Chosroes and Chagan and the Arabs. "We have need neither of the Latins'

help nor of the Union. Keep far away from us the worship of the Azymites!”

5. When the Christians who had assembled in the Great Church had offered an extended prayer to God and had listened to the cardinal's words, they agreed to the Article of Union with the understanding that, once the Turkish threat had passed and peace was restored, a number of scholars would gather to study the articles and correct whatever was not in complete accordance with the true faith. With this understanding, therefore, they consented to hold a combined liturgy in the Great Church to be celebrated by both Italians and Greeks. After both Pope Nicholas and the exiled Patriarch Gregory were commemorated in the diptychs, the Divine Liturgy was concluded on the twelfth day of December in the year 6961. There were many who did not receive the offering of *antidoron* ²⁴⁹ because it represented an abominable sacrifice celebrated in the Unionist Liturgy. Every heart and every intent of the Greeks was examined, and their trickeries and deceptions did not escape the cardinal's detection. Since he belonged to the same nation, he needed little prompting to offer the City his help. He was content, therefore, to report to the pope only what had taken place. The rest he entrusted to God Who administers all things for the good.

6. But the populace, cruel and hating the good, the root of arrogance, the branch of vainglory, the flower of haughtiness, the dregs of the Hellenic nation, wholly disdaining the nations of men, regarded all the events that had taken place as though they had not occurred at all. In conversation the Unionists would say to the schismatics, “Let us see if God will remove this enemy who opposes us, the great dragon who boasts that he will swallow the City whole, and then you will see if we will unite with the Azymites.” In saying these things, the wretches did not know that the many oaths sworn in the name of the Holy Trinity on pain of indissoluble excommunication to uphold the union and concord of Christians, that is, of the Churches, which had been sanctioned at the Council of Lyons in the days of the first Palaiologos [Michael VIII, 1274 A.D.] and in the Council of Florence in the days of the last Palaiologan Emperor [John VIII, 1439 A.D.], and now in this Divine and Sacred Liturgy, would remove their commemoration from

the earth, and with them, the commemoration of the City. O wretches, why do you reflect upon such vanities in your hearts? Behold your priests and your nuns and your monks, your male and female sacristans! They refused to communicate the Immaculate Body and Blood from the hands of those Greek priests who administer the Blessed Sacraments according to the ecclesiastical tradition of the East, contending that they are polluted and that "they are not Christian sacraments." Moreover, they avoided the blessing of those priests and called the churches pagan altars. Tomorrow they will be corrupted and defiled in both body and soul. I saw with my own eyes a nun who had taken sacred vows not only eating meat and covering her body with barbarian dress but also making an offering to the false prophet and shamelessly confessing his unholy faith. But what has made me jump ahead five months in time? Tomorrow these things will be upon us and they will be recounted with lamentations.

7. While they awaited the tyrant's arrival in the spring, the emperor dispatched several of his officials to the islands and Christian provinces to purchase wheat, pulse of every kind, and various foodstuffs. There were four large ships off the island of Chios loading all kinds of needed supplies—wheat, wine, olive oil, dried figs, carob-beans, barley corn, and all kinds of pulse. They were waiting for a merchantman sailing from the Peloponnesos. There were finally five ships and they were destined to transport many mighty and courageous troops and much armor to Constantinople. All the islands were in a state of agitation and despondency over the City's fate. Some were convinced that the City would be assaulted and captured by the barbarians. Others believed that just as Mehmed's father and grandfather had failed to take the City, so he too would follow the same path.

XXXVII

1. With the passing of January and the beginning of February, Mehmed ordered the cannon transported to Constantinople. Thirty wagons were linked together and sixty enormous oxen hauled it along. Two hundred men were deployed on each side of the cannon to support and balance it so that it would not slip and fall onto the road. Fifty carpenters and two hundred assistants went ahead of the wagons to construct wooden bridges wherever the road was uneven. The journey lasted through February and March, and the cannon was conveyed to a spot some five miles from the City.

2. Qaraja Beg ²⁵⁰ had previously been sent with a force to subjugate the fortresses along the Black Sea, such as Mesembria, Anchialos, and Vizye. He also took by force the towers of St. Stephanos which are situated near Selymbria. All those within were taken captive and slaughtered. Those defending the remaining towers submitted and so did Epivatai. They who capitulated went unharmed while those who resisted were decapitated. Selymbria resisted by giving battle.

3. When the cannon had been conveyed to the designated location, Qaraja Beg was commanded to hasten with his forces to guard it. He was also to overrun the environs of the City and prevent the Romans from coming out of the City's gates.

4. Throughout the entire winter, three regiments from Mysia and Paphlagonia were deployed to stand guard over the City and obstruct the Romans from sallying forth and making raids on the Turks. The enemy camp increased in size and the Romans were unable to sally forth. From the sea, however, in biremes and triremes, they pillaged the Turkish villages situated along the coastline all the way to Kyzikos. Many were taken captive and those who were not slain were brought to Constantinople and sold. While these clashes were taking place, spring arrived and the fast days of the Great Lent began.

5. The discord in the Church was not resolved, but a

strange dissension now appeared among those entrusted to hear the thoughts of men. When the Christians came to confess their sins, the anti-Unionists would ask each one if he had associated with the excommunicates and if, perchance, he had listened to a liturgy celebrated by a Unionist priest. If so, an exacting penitential canon and a heavy penance were imposed. After fulfilling the penitential canon according to custom, he who was deemed worthy to communicate the Body and Blood of the Lord was forbidden to go to the Unionist priests on pain of a heavy penance. It was said, "They are not priests nor are their oblations valid."²⁵¹ If they were invited to a funeral or to a requiem service for the dead and one of the Unionist priests was present, they would forthwith remove their chasubles and flee as though from fire. The Great Church was deemed to be a refuge of demons and to have a Hellenic altar. Where were the candles? Where was the olive oil to put in the burning lamps? Darkness was everywhere and there was none to prevent it. The Holy Temple was deserted, foretelling the desolation it was shortly to suffer because of the transgressions and iniquities of the inhabitants. Gennadios in seclusion taught and placed curses upon those who had embraced the peace.

6. Afterwards I happened to meet a noblewoman who was taken captive. She told me that when she began to suffer labor pains on Holy Wednesday of that year, she summoned her confessor, a certain Iakovos by name, and made her confession. He urged her to receive Holy Communion. She inquired of the old priest if there was anything to prevent her from receiving Holy Communion from the hands of the priest who officiated in the church which stood within her courtyard. This same priest had been present with the Unionists in the Great Church on the twelfth of December, but he had not partaken of Holy Communion with them. Nor was he counted from the beginning among the concelebrants at the altar. He and others who had arrived late were simply standing in the church wearing their sacred vestments. The confessor said to her, "It is forgiven. God will absolve you. Go and receive Holy Communion with a clear conscience for he is a priest and a celebrant. Take communion without fear." When she heard the old priest giving indiscriminate absolution, she became afraid because she was a partisan of the schismatics. She summoned another, Neophytos by name,

and disclosed to him the absolution of her confessor. Neophytos could speak freely for he served as confessor in the palace and the homes of the nobles. He forbade her, saying, "It is unforgivable. If you received Communion from his hands, bread you will have eaten and wine you will have drunk." O Thy forbearance, Christ my King! You unilluminated and blind fool! If the priest had been a Latin, your irrational stupidity might have had some justification, such as the prayers to God being rendered in Latin and the bread being unleavened and the water being unheated,²⁵² and other illogical accusations which prohibit the Orthodox from opening his mouth and saying anything in condemnation of the Blessed Sacraments celebrated in this manner. He who dared do this should be paved over with stones. What have you to say in your defense concerning the Blessed Sacraments celebrated in your language and with the same prayers offered by you and the priests of the East? Do you have no more to say, O shallow Pharisee, than that you are pure and free from taint and separated from the rest of the Christians? I will add, furthermore, that you are excommunicated. Torn between these two injunctions, that noblewoman was stopped by her conscience and did not receive Holy Communion that day, and she gave birth in the night without receiving communion. If death had followed, her soul would have been damned having sinned against the Holy Spirit, thanks to Neophytos and the evil demon residing in him.²⁵³

7. Let us return to the narrative's course and see how the angry sea is about to destroy and sink the ark which has expelled Noah the captain and has despised the clean fowl regarded as unclean by those who are not clean.

8. In the beginning of March the tyrant dispatched criers and heralds to all the provinces summoning everyone to join the campaign against the City. The registered troops who served for pay came in large numbers. Who can say how many myriads were unregistered? Everyone who heard the call "To the City" came hurriedly, even the lad too young to march and the aged too old to run. The Constantinopolitans importuned God not to permit the assault to come during Holy Week, for they had heard that the tyrant was already approaching in his war chariot. On the Friday of Easter week,²⁵⁴ Nebuchadnezzar reached the gates of Jerusalem,²⁵⁵ and pitched his tents oppo-

site the Gate of Charisios behind the hill. All his forces were deployed from Xyloporta, situated near the palace, to the Golden Gate on the south, and from Xyloporta to Kosmidion. In depth they stretched out from the south to the vineyards extending around the plain which had previously been destroyed by Qaraja. Mehmed besieged the City on the Friday following Easter, the sixth of April.²⁵⁶

9. From that day on which the Union had supposedly taken place in the Great Church, the Constantinopolitans shunned it as though it were a synagogue of Jews, and neither oblation nor burnt offering nor censuring took place inside. If one of the priests offered the Divine Liturgy to God on a feast day, the worshipers would remain to the time of the oblation and then they would all depart, women as well as men and monks as well as nuns. What need be said? They looked upon the church as a pagan altar and the sacrifice as offered to Apollo. For this reason, Esaias, as from the mouth of God, says, "Behold, I will proceed to remove this people and I will remove them: and I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will hide the understanding of the prudent. Woe to them that deepen their counsel, and not by the Lord. Woe to them that take secret counsel, and whose works are in darkness, and they say, Who has seen us? And who shall know us or what we do?" Therefore, saith the Lord, "Woe to the apostate children! Ye have framed counsel not by me, and covenants not by my Spirit, to add sins to sins."²⁵⁷

10. Gennadios did not desist from teaching and writing daily against the Unionists, and contriving syllogisms and contradictions against the deceased, the most wise Thomas Aquinas and his writings, and against Lord Demetrios Kydones, proving them heretics.²⁵⁸ His accessory and accomplice from the senate was the chief minister, the grand duke who, when the Romans saw the huge army of Turks massed against the City, dared to say against the Latins, "It would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the center of the City than the Latin miter."²⁵⁹ The Constantinopolitans, in their despair, had been saying, "Would that the City were delivered into the hands of the Latins, who call upon Christ and the Theotokos, and not thrown into the clutches of the infidel." It was at this time that the grand duke made the above statement. But Esaias spoke to

him as well as to Ezekias, "Hear the word of the Lord of hosts: Behold the days, when they shall take all things that are in thine house, and all that thy fathers have gathered until this day, shall go to Babylon; and they shall not leave anything at all; . . . they shall take also of thy children whom thou shalt beget; and they shall make them eunuchs in the house of the king of the Babylonians."²⁶⁰

XXXVIII

1. Emperor Constantine with all available forces took charge of the situation with the Genoese of Galata.²⁶¹ The compelling thought that if the City fell, their fortress would become desolate had also occurred to them. Consequently, they had previously dispatched letters to Genoa pleading for assistance. The reply came that a ship was already en route with five hundred armed troops to aid Galata. When the Venetian merchant triremes sailed from the Sea of Azov and the Don river and from Trebizond, on their way back to Venice, the emperor and the Venetians who were residing in the City would not allow them to continue on their way. They stayed ostensibly to help defend the City.

2. From Genoa there also arrived Giovanni Longo Giustiniani²⁶² in two huge ships which were carrying a large supply of excellent military equipment and well-armed youthful Genoese soldiers full of martial passion. This Giovanni was a very adept tactician in the deployment of allied military forces. The emperor welcomed him warmly and honored him with the rank of Protostrator. To the latter's soldiers he meted out stipends and dispensed many favors. The defense of the walls near the palace was assigned to Giustiniani. If Mehmed should be repulsed and turned back without achieving his purpose of taking the City, Constantine in a chrysobull, bestowed the island of Lemnos on Giovanni. Thereafter, the Latins fought

heroically with Giovanni, sallying forth through the City's gates and taking up positions on the outer fortifications and at the fosse.

3. The Romans would frequently leap out of the fosse and engage in hand-to-hand combat with the Turks, sometimes losing men and sometimes taking captives. However, this was not profitable to them. It was obvious that there was one Roman to twenty Turks. What could they accomplish by confronting so many of the enemy whenever they sallied forth? The decision was made, therefore, that the Romans should fight from the ramparts of the walls, some by discharging quarrels from crossbows and others by shooting plain arrows. Some, however, shot lead balls which were propelled by powder, five and ten at a time, and as small as Pontic walnuts. These had tremendous perforating power and, if one ball happened to penetrate an armorclad soldier, it would transpierce both shield and body, passing through and striking the next person standing in the way. Passing through the second individual, it would strike a third until the force of the powder was dissipated. Thus, with one shot it was possible to kill two or three soldiers. The Turks learned of these weapons and not only employed them but had even better ones.

4. Two-thirds of April passed with only a few clashes taking place while the tyrant amassed more forces. The number of those who were called up and of those who volunteered were beyond counting. Scouts reported that there were more than four hundred thousand.²⁶³

5. Before the tyrant's departure from Adrianople and arrival at the City, the Genoese of Galata sent ambassadors to him, declaring their genuine friendship with him and renewing past treaties. He protested that he too was their friend and that his affection for them was steadfast. But let them not be found helping the City! They promised. It was proved in the end, however, that one of the two parties was deluded. The Genoese of Galata anticipated that the outcome would be the same as formerly when the City had been placed under attack by his forbears who were compelled finally to lift the siege without achieving their purpose. While feigning friendship with the Turks, the Genoese of Galata continued to send the Constantinopolitans as much aid as possible. Since they expected, there-

fore, the same outcome now as previously, they suspected that the tyrant's friendship was false and so they naturally allied themselves with the City, but secretly. The tyrant reflected, "I will allow the serpent to sleep until I destroy the dragon, and then one light blow on the head will make him reel." And so it happened.

6. His squadron of three hundred triremes, biremes, and light boats were made ready.²⁶⁴ The City's harbor was closed by a chain stretching from the Horaia Gate to Galata. The ships stood in a line inside to protect the harbor and the chain.²⁶⁵

7. Of the five ships we have mentioned, the one belonging to the emperor was carrying a shipment of wheat from the Peloponnesos. The four Genoese vessels which had been chartered by the emperor were harbored in Chios throughout the entire month of March loading necessary supplies.²⁶⁶ When April arrived, they decided to weigh anchor but were impeded by the north wind. Both the Constantinopolitans and the merchantmen were greatly distressed by the delay. When the north wind abated and the south wind began to blow, the ships sailed out of the harbor of Chios. Blowing gently the first day, the south wind grew stronger on the second and tossed the ships about violently. The Constantinopolitans were anxiously awaiting their arrival—even though their help would be ineffectual. When the ships appeared, the tyrant like a wild dragon immediately rushed to his triremes and the other ships, admonishing and commanding them to either take possession of the ships or prevent them from entering the harbor. Then the squadron moved outside the harbor of the Golden Gate to await the arrival of the ships. While the ships were sailing directly past the Acropolis of Demetrios the Great to enter the Golden Horn, the squadron moved out to intercept them. The sea at this time was calm for no wind was blowing. It was a strange spectacle indeed! The sea, covered with three hundred Turkish sails and with the huge sails of the five ships, looked like dry land. The arrows fell so thick that it was impossible to move the oars down into the water. Like winged eagles from above, the troops on board the ships rained down the quarrels from their crossbows and discharged their artillery like thunderbolts. Many Turks were slain. Full of arrogance, the tyrant rushed into the sea on horseback, imagining that he could cut through the sea

and sail up to these ships on his horse, so wroth was he and his armed troops with his fleet. Suddenly, the wind blew strong and the sails were inflated. Cutting their way through the water, the ships sailed into the harbor, and the Turkish squadron was left behind. If only the barbarian's squadron had sailed into range, the five ships would have sunk the three hundred, but as he was ignorant of the science of naval warfare, the tyrant could only shout. His grand constable²⁶⁷ refused to take notice but instead gave meaningless commands. Enraged, the tyrant ordered the squadron to withdraw to the Double Columns,²⁶⁸ and commanded the grand constable to be brought before him. He was subsequently thrown to the ground and stretched out by four attendants while the ruler beat him with his own hands, giving him one hundred blows with a golden rod which had a head of pure gold weighing five pounds.²⁶⁹ He had it made especially for his amusement as an instrument of punishment. The grand constable was descended from the nation of Bulgars, the son of a *boyar*, and his name was Balta. When he was enslaved by Mehmed's father, he renounced the religion of his fathers. He had come to Lesbos four years before and taken many captives. He was not a good friend of those brigands the Janissaries because he often seized their spoils. When they saw him despised and beaten by the tyrant, one of the Azabs²⁷⁰ picked up a stone and hit him on the temple, gouging out one of his eyes. When the Genoese ships approached the harbor, the Constantinopolitans slackened the chain and allowed them to enter.

8. When the tyrant observed that there were eight large ships, over twenty small ones, imperial triremes as well as Venetian triremes, and many more small craft,²⁷¹ he realized that it was not possible to gain possession of the harbor. He contrived, therefore, a bold and daring stratagem. He ordered the thickets lying behind Galata leveled, starting in the area to the east and below the Double Columns and extending as far as that section of Galata which faces the shore of the Golden Horn opposite Kosmidion. After the road was made as smooth as possible, he placed the biremes on wheeled cradles. Spreading their sails, he ordered the ships drawn overland from the straits of the Sacred Mouth and launched into the Golden Horn. And this was accomplished. The skiffs were pulled along; in each

there was a pilot at the prow and a steersman at the helm. A third held a yardarm and shook the sail. A fourth beat upon a drum and a fifth played sea melodies on a trumpet. Sailing before a fair wind over vales and streams, they traversed the land. They launched eighty biremes into the water. The others were left behind.²⁷² Who had seen or heard of such a thing? Xerxes had bridged the sea and his huge army crossed over it as though it were land. But this new Macedonian, who was, I believe, the last tyrant of his lineage, transformed the land into a sea and transported the ships over the tops of the hills as though they were waves. He surpassed Xerxes, however. The latter crossed the Hellespont only to be shamefully beaten by the Athenians. The former, by traversing the land as though it were water, overthrew the Romans and captured truly golden Athens [i.e., Constantinople], the queen of cities which adorns the world.

9. So much for Mehmed's naval campaign. The enormous cannon was also carried overland and positioned opposite the wall near the Gate of St. Romanos. The technician, determining the range, had two pits dug on the side, holding stones weighing as much as [—?] pounds and perfectly shaped by nature. When he wished to discharge a large stone, he first took the range of the target by firing a small one and then, taking skillful aim, he would fire the large. After he set off the first shot and the Constantinopolitans heard the clap, they were dumbfounded and cried out, "Lord, have mercy."

10. According to custom, the icon of the Most Immaculate Mother of God was housed in the palace during Easter week. Afterward, numerous litanies took place in the monastery of Chora, and the icon remained there until the fall.²⁷³ Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by God through Jeremias saying, "Wherefore do ye bring me frankincense from Saba, and cinnamon from a land afar off? Your whole-burnt offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices have not been pleasant to me. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring weakness upon this people, and the fathers and sons shall be weak together; the neighbour and his friend shall perish. Thus saith the Lord, Behold, a people comes from the north, and nations shall be stirred up from the end of the earth. They shall lay hold on bow and spear; the people is fierce, and will have no mercy;

their voice is as the roaring sea; they shall array themselves for war against thee as fire on horses and chariots, O daughter of Sion.”²⁷⁴

11. What method did the deviser of that evil, the technician, employ to keep the cannon from shattering? We have seen cannon which discharge projectiles and which, unless protected by a covering of felt made of heavy wool, upon discharge shatter like glass. Even after such precaution is taken, the cannon, if fired more than two or three times, will crack because of air penetrating into the pores of the metal. What did he do? As soon as the stone was shot from the cannon he immediately soaked it with oil because it had become hot from the heat of natron and sulphur. Thus the open pores within would be saturated with oil, and the cold air, warmed by the heat of the oil, had no effect. The cannon easily withstood the shock and did its share in the destruction of the City. Even afterwards it was preserved and continued to carry out the tyrant's will. Since the first shot struck and violently rocked the wall, the technician wished to fire off a second stone at that same spot. An ambassador of János, who happened to be present, scoffed at such a shot, “If you wish the walls to fall easily, transfer the cannon to another section of the wall, about thirty to thirty-six feet from the first shot, and then on the same level as the first, let go another shot. When those two extremities have been precisely struck, discharge a third shot so that the three shots may form the shape of a triangle. Then you will see the wall tumble to the earth.” The counsel pleased the technician, and he did as he was told and the result was as foretold.

13. I will now relate the reason that the Hungarian gave such counsel to the tyrant. That year the king of Hungary took over the government of the empire of the Romans and was crowned by Pope Nicholas. When he took the reins of power into his own hands, János was expelled from his regentship. The king and emperor took complete charge of state affairs.²⁷⁵ János had negotiated a binding three-year pact of friendship with Mehmed. A year and a half later, János sent the following message to Mehmed, “I have surrendered the rule to my lord. Henceforth, I am no longer responsible for keeping my promises. Take back the documents which you gave me and return

those which I gave you, and do as you like with the king of Hungary." This was the reason for the ambassador's arrival. As for the counsel which he, as a Christian, should not have given, I write only what I have heard. It is said that after his third defeat, as recorded above, János was compelled to flee. When he reached home he found a prophet to whom he related the circumstances of his defeat. Moreover, he told how sorely distressed he was because Fortune had forsaken the cause of the Romans and had smiled on the infidels. The old man replied, "Know this child, unless utter and complete destruction befall the Romans, Fortune will not smile on the Christians. The City must be destroyed by the Turks and only then will the misfortunes of the Christians come to an end."²⁷⁶ With this sinister prophecy in mind, János' messenger desired the City to fall as soon as possible; that is why he gave the counsel as to how to strike the wall so it would fall quickly.

14. When the two walls with the tower between them, and, in addition, the Tower of St. Romanos near the gate, came crashing to the ground, the Turks could see the defenders within and could be seen by them.²⁷⁷

15. Giovanni Giustiniani fought bravely at the head of his men and the palace troops. They were assisted by many armed men from the suburb of Galata, and thus the Galatinians proved their friendship. They circulated fearlessly in the Turkish camp, providing the tyrant abundantly with whatever supplies he requested—oil for the cannon and whatever else the Turks wanted. Then they would return furtively to the Romans during the night and fight at their side all day long. The following night others would take their places in the City, and they would spend time at their homes and in the camp in order to escape detection by the Turks.

16. From the Imperial Gate to Kynegon, the Venetians fought with the Romans against the Turks.

17. With five hundred armed troops, the grand duke patrolled the City, encouraging the soldiers, inspecting the watches, and searching for those missing from their posts. This was done daily. The wretch had not yet waged full-scale war because he was awaiting the hour designated by the seers.

18. When the emperor saw that the walls had fallen, he judged their collapse to be an evil sign against both the City and

himself. Since the time of the most saintly Constantine during which so many Scythian, Persian, and Arabic wars had been fought, not a single stone of one pound weight had fallen. But now, as he confronted such an occurrence and in addition a huge army, a vast fleet and the breached walls, he became full of despair and desperation. He dispatched ambassadors to the tyrant entreating him, among other things, to withdraw and welcome peace. In return, the emperor would agree to pay as much annual tribute as Mehmed required, and even more than he could afford. The tyrant, however, replied, "It is not possible for me to withdraw. Either I take the City or the City takes me dead or alive. But if you wish to withdraw from the City in peace, I will give you the Peloponnesos and to your brothers I will grant other provinces, and we shall be friends. If, however, you will not peacefully make way for my entrance and I must force my way in, I will slay you by the sword and all your nobles. Moreover, I will allow my troops to pillage the surviving populace. For me the City is sufficient, even if empty." The emperor ignored his reply, for it was not possible to take the City from the Romans and hand it over to the Turks. Were he to do this, along what road or in what place or Christian city could they settle where the inhabitants would not spit upon the Romans and revile them and mortify them? And not only Christians but even Turks and Jews would treat them with contempt.

19. Longo Giustiniani devised a scheme to sail to the biremes in the night and set them on fire. He prepared a trireme and placed on board the most experienced Italians and various military engines; then they waited for the appropriate moment. When the Genoese of Galata learned of the stratagem, they informed the Turks. The Turks stayed awake all night and, after bringing up cannon to prepare for the attack, waited for the Latins. Unaware that the Genoese had betrayed them to the infidels, the Latins weighed anchor in the middle of the night and noiselessly approached the Turkish ships. When the Turks, who were on guard all night, ignited the cannon powder, the discharged stone, shattering the trireme with a deafening sound, sank the vessel, sending it to the bottom with all on board. This incident injected much fear and apprehension into the Latins and much despondency into Giovanni because those who went

down, more than one hundred and fifty men, were all from his own ship, the best of his youthful and well-armed warriors.²⁷⁸ The Turks in their ships and tents, elated over their success, shouted very loud and raised such a din to the heavens that it seemed as though an earthquake had struck that portion of the earth. All the Constantinopolitans and Galatinians cried out in fear.

20. When day broke and the Turks were fighting cheerfully and courageously, priding themselves on the unexpected sinking of the trireme, they fitted another stone, an enormous one, into the cannon mouth. There was a ship standing near the Gate of Galata, carrying a cargo of diverse merchandise and ready to set sail for Italy. Both ship and cargo belonged to the merchants of Galata. The Turks fired the cannon and the stone crashed through the ship's hull, sending the shattered vessel to the bottom.²⁷⁹ Thus did the Turks reward the Galatinians for the genuine friendship which they had demonstrated toward them. The Galatinians visited the nobles that same day and complained, "As friends performing friendship's deeds, we signaled the trireme's approach. Had you not been informed of its arrival by us, the labor you took to transport the eighty vessels overland into the harbor would have gone for naught as they would have been burnt to ashes and dust by the Romans. And you have repaid us by inflicting such injury upon us!" The viziers replied, "We did this not knowing that the ship was yours but thinking that it belonged to the enemy. Take courage, however, and pray that we take the City. This task is already at hand and the time is near. You will then be indemnified for every injury and loss sustained." Mollified by these words, the wretches departed, not knowing that they and their city would shortly suffer the same fate as that of Constantinople.

21. The tyrant constructed a wooden bridge crossing the environs of Galata to Kynegon. It was built as follows: By command over a thousand wine casks were collected²⁸⁰ and bound together with cords into a single span as wide as two casks standing on end lengthwise. A second row like the first was made; the two were joined by nailing beams to both sides; then planks were laid across them. The bridge was wide enough so that five soldiers abreast and on foot could easily cross it.

XXXIX

1. When all preparations had been completed according to plan, Mehmed sent an envoy to the emperor inside the City with the following message, "The preparations for the assault have been concluded. It is now time to consummate what we planned long ago. Let us leave the outcome of this undertaking to God. What say you? Do you wish to quit the City and go wherever you like together with your officials and their possessions, leaving behind the populace unharmed by us and by you? Or do you choose to resist and to lose your life and belongings, and to have the Turks take the populace captive and scatter them throughout the earth?" The emperor and the senate answered, "If you so wish, as your fathers did before you, you too, by the grace of God, can live peacefully with us. They regarded my parents as their fathers, and as such honored them, and they looked upon this City as their fatherland. In time of difficulty, they entered within her walls and were saved. No one who resisted her lived long. Keep the fortresses and the lands which have been unjustly seized from us as justly yours. Extract as much tribute annually as we are able to pay you, and depart in peace. Can you be certain that victory instead of defeat awaits you? The right to surrender the City to you belongs neither to me nor to anyone who dwells therein. Rather than to have our lives spared, it is our common resolve willingly to die."

2. When the tyrant heard this reply, he despaired of a peaceful surrender of the City. He therefore instructed the heralds to announce to the entire army the day on which the assault would be launched. He also affirmed on oath that he desired for himself no gain other than the buildings and walls of the City. As for the treasures and captives to be taken, he declared, "Let those be your reward." The troops shouted their approval.

3. As night fell, he sent heralds around the camp with instructions that large torches and fires should be lighted at every tent. And once the torches were burning, they were all to

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chant and shout in their foul and impious tongue. This strange spectacle was indeed incredible. As the torches poured their light over land and sea, brighter than the sun, they illuminated the entire City, Galata, all the islands, ships and boats as far as Skutari. The entire surface of the water flashed so brightly that it was like lightning. Would that it had been lightning, the lightning which not only produces light but also burns and utterly consumes everything! The Romans thought that fire had fallen on the camp and ran up to the breach in the wall. When they saw the Turks dancing and heard their joyous shouts, they foresaw the future. With a contrite heart they prayed to God, "Spare us, O Lord, from Thy just wrath and deliver us from the hands of the enemy."²⁸¹ The spectacle and din affected the citizens so much that they appeared to be half-dead, unable to breathe either in or out.

4. Giovanni labored throughout the night. He ordered all the brushwood in the City gathered and placed at the breach. He also constructed a second fosse within for protection where the walls had been destroyed. The Romans realized that their movements were conspicuous and that they could not pass through the gate to oppose the Turks at the outer fortifications because the fallen walls exposed them. There were, however, some old men who knew of an underground sallyport located at the lower end of the palace that, many years before, had been sealed shut. When the emperor was informed of its existence, he commanded that it be opened. The soldiers could now sally through because it was screened by solid walls, and they gave battle to the Turks in the enclosure. The name of this hidden door was Kerkoporta.²⁸²

5. On Sunday, the tyrant began to engage in full scale warfare. Right into the evening and through the night he gave no rest to the Romans. That Sunday was the Feast of All Saints, the twenty-seventh day of May.

6. From daybreak he engaged in light skirmishes until the ninth hour [3 p.m.], and after the ninth hour he arrayed the army from the palace to the Golden Gate. He also deployed the eighty ships from the Xyloporta Gate to the Plataea Gate. The remaining ships, which were stationed at the Double Columns, began an encircling maneuver, starting from the Horaia Gate and continuing past the Acropolis of Demetrios the Great

and the small postern located at the Hodegetria monastery. Sailing past the Great Palace and crossing the harbor, they completed the encirclement as far as Vlangas. In addition to all kinds of equipment, each vessel carried a scaling ladder equal to the height of the walls.

7. Just as the sun set, the call to battle rang out. The battle array was most formidable indeed! The tyrant himself was on horseback on Monday evening.²⁸³ Exactly opposite the fallen walls he gave battle with his faithful slaves, young and all-powerful, fighting like lions, more than ten thousand of them. To the rear and on both flanks there were more than one hundred thousand fighting cavalymen. To the south of these and as far as the harbor of the Golden Gate there were another hundred thousand troops and more. From the spot where the ruler was standing to the extremities of the palace there were another fifty thousand soldiers. The troops on the ships and at the bridge were beyond number.

8. The City's defenders were deployed in the following manner: The emperor and Giovanni Giustiniani were stationed at the fallen walls, outside the stockade in the enclosure, with about three thousand Latins and Romans. The grand duke was posted at the Imperial Gate with about five hundred troops. At the sea walls and along the battlements from the Xyloporta Gate to the Horaia Gate, more than five hundred crossbowmen and archers were arrayed. Making the complete circuit from the Horaia Gate to the Golden Gate there was stationed in each bastion a single archer, crossbowman, or gunner. They spent the entire night on watch with no sleep at all.

9. The Turks with Mehmed rushed to the walls, carrying a great number of scaling ladders which had been constructed beforehand.²⁸⁴ Behind the lines, the tyrant, brandishing an iron mace, forced his archers to the walls by using both flattery and threats. The City's defenders fought back bravely with all the strength they could muster. Giovanni and his men, supported by the emperor in arms, together with all his troops, fought back courageously.

10. But just as Fortune's feats of arms were about to snatch victory from Turkish hands, from the very middle of the embattled Roman troops, God removed their general, a mighty warrior of gigantic stature. He was wounded just before dawn

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by lead shot which went through the back of his arm, penetrating his iron breastplate which had been forged in the manner of Achilles' weapons. Unable to relieve the pain of the wound, he cried out to the emperor, "Stand your ground bravely, and I will retire to the ship to attend to my wound. Then I will quickly return."²⁸⁵ It was in that hour that the words spoken by Jeremias to the Jews were fulfilled, "Thus shall ye say to Sedekias: Thus saith the Lord God of Israel. Behold, I will turn back the weapons of war *which are in your hands*, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans that have besieged you from outside the wall; and I will gather them into the midst of this city. And I will fight against you with an outstretched hand *or with an uplifted arm with wrath and anger and great irritation*. And I will smite the dwellers in this city, both men and cattle with grievous death, and they shall die. I will not spare them, and I will not have compassion upon them!"²⁸⁶ When the emperor beheld Giovanni in retreat, he lost heart and so did his companions. Yet they continued the fight with all their strength.

11. The Turks gradually made their way to the walls, and, using their shields for cover, threw up their scaling ladders. Thwarted, however, by stone-throwers from above, they achieved nothing. Their assault, therefore, was repulsed. All the Romans with the emperor held their ground against the enemy, and all their strength and purpose were exerted to prevent the Turks from entering through the fallen walls. Unbeknown to them, however, God willed that the Turks would be brought in by another way. When they saw the sallyport, to which we referred above, open, some fifty of the tyrant's renowned slaves leaped inside. They climbed to the top of the walls and zealously slew anyone they met and struck down the sentinels who discharged missiles from above. It was a sight filled with horror! Some of the Romans and Latins who were preventing the Turks from attaching scaling ladders to the walls were cut to pieces, while others, closing their eyes, jumped from the wall and ended their lives horribly by smashing their bodies. Unimpeded, the Turks threw up the scaling ladders and ascended like soaring eagles.

12. The Romans and the emperor did not know what had happened because the entry of the Turks took place at a

distance; indeed, their paramount concern was the enemy before them. The fierce Turkish warriors outnumbered the Romans twenty to one. The Romans, moreover, were not as experienced in warfare as the ordinary Turks. Their attention and concern, therefore, were focused on the Turkish ground attack. Then suddenly arrows fell from above, slaughtering many Romans. When they looked up and saw the Turks, they fled behind the walls. Unable to enter through the Gate of Charisios because of the press of the multitude, only those got through who were stronger and able to trample down the weaker. When the tyrant's troops witnessed the rout of the Romans, they shouted with one voice and pursued them inside, trampling upon the wretches and slaughtering them. When they reached the gate, they were unable to get through because it was blocked by the bodies of the dead and the dying. The majority entered through the breaches in the walls and they cut down all those they met.

13. The emperor, despairing and hopeless, stood with sword and shield in hand and poignantly cried out, "Is there no one among the Christians who will take my head from me?" He was abandoned and alone. Then one of the Turks wounded him by striking him flush, and he, in turn, gave the Turk a blow. A second Turk delivered a mortal blow from behind and the emperor fell to the earth. They slew him as a common soldier and left him, because they did not know he was the emperor.

14. Only three Turks perished and all the rest made their way inside. It was the first hour of the day [6 a.m.], and the sun had not yet risen. As they entered the City and spread out from the Gate of Charisios to the palace, they slew those who resisted and those who fled. Some two thousand fighting men were slaughtered. The Turks were apprehensive because they had estimated that within the City there must be at least fifty thousand soldiers. Consequently, they slew the two thousand. Had they known that the total number of armed troops did not exceed eight thousand men, they would not have killed any of them. This nation is a lover of money and if a patricide fell into their hands, they would release him for gold. How much truer this would be for him who had done no wrong but had instead been wronged by them. After the conflict I met many Turks who related the following to me, "Fearful of those

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ahead of us, we slew as many as we met. Had we known that there was such a dearth of men in the City, we would have sold them all like sheep.”

15. Some of the Azabs, that is, the tyrant’s retinue who are also called Janissaries, overran the palace. Others swarmed over the Monastery of the Great Forerunner called Petra and the Monastery of Chora in which was found the icon of my Immaculate Mother of God. O tongue and lips, how can I relate what happened there to the icon because of your sins? While the apostates were anxious to go elsewhere for more plunder, one of the infidels, extending his befouled hands, hacked the icon into four pieces with an axe. Casting lots, each received his equal share and its accompanying ornament. After they seized the monastery’s precious vessels, they rode off.

16. Breaking into the protostrator’s²⁸⁷ home, they broke open the coffers full of treasures amassed long ago. In so doing, they aroused the noblewomen from their sleep. It was the twenty-ninth day of May, and the morning sleep of the youths and maidens was sweet indeed; they slept unafraid and carefree as they had done yesterday and the day before.

17. Then a great horde of mounted infidels charged down the street leading to the Great Church. The actions of both Turks and Romans made quite a spectacle! In the early dawn, as the Turks poured into the City and the citizens took flight, some of the fleeing Romans managed to reach their homes and rescue their children and wives. As they moved, bloodstained, across the Forum of the Bull and passed the Column of the Cross [Forum of Constantine], their wives asked, “What is to become of us?” When they heard the fearful cry, “The Turks are slaughtering Romans within the City’s walls,” they did not believe it at first. They cursed and reviled the ill-omened messenger instead. But behind him came a second, and then a third, and all were covered with blood, and they knew that the cup of the Lord’s wrath had touched their lips. Monks and nuns, therefore, and men and women, carrying their infants in their arms and abandoning their homes to anyone who wished to break in, ran to the Great Church. The thoroughfare, overflowing with people, was a sight to behold!

18. Why were they all seeking refuge in the Great Church? Many years before they had heard from some false

prophets that the City was fated to be surrendered to the Turks who would enter with great force, and that the Romans would be cut down by them as far as the Column of Constantine the Great. Afterwards, however, an angel, descending and holding a sword, would deliver the empire and the sword to an unknown man, extremely plain and poor, standing at the Column. "Take this sword," the angel would say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." Then the Turks would take flight and the Romans would follow hard upon them, cutting them down. They would drive them from the City and from the West, and from the East as far as the borders of Persia, to a place called Monodendrion. Because they fully expected these prophecies to be realized, some ran and advised others to run also. This was the conviction of the Romans who long ago had contemplated what their present action would be, contending, "If we leave the Column of the Cross behind us, we will avoid future wrath." This was the cause then of the flight into the Great Church. In one hour's time that enormous temple was filled with men and women. There was a throng too many to count, above and below, in the courtyards and everywhere. They bolted the doors and waited, hoping to be rescued by the anonymous savior.

19. O miserable Romans! O wretches! The temple which only yesterday you called a cave and altar of heretics, and not one of you would enter so as not to be defiled because the liturgy was offered by clerics who had embraced Church Union, and now, because of the impending wrath you push your way inside, seeking to be saved. But not even the impending just wrath could move your hearts to peace. And even if, in such a calamity, an angel were to descend from heaven and say to you, "If you will accept the Union and a state of peace in the Church, I will expel the enemy from the City," even then you would not assent. And if you did assent, it would only be a lie! They who but a few days before had said, "It would be better to fall into the hands of the Turks than into the clutches of the Franks," knew this was true.

20. Pillaging, slaughtering, and taking captives on the way, the Turks reached the temple before the termination of the first hour. The gates were barred, but they broke them with axes. They entered with swords flashing and, beholding the myriad populace, each Turk caught and bound his own captive.

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There was no one who resisted or who did not surrender himself like a sheep. Who can recount the calamity of that time and place? Who can describe the wailing and the cries of the babes, the mothers' tearful screams and the fathers' lamentations? The commonest Turk sought the most tender maiden. The lovely nun, who heretofore belonged only to the one God, was now seized and bound by another master. The rapine caused the tugging and pulling of braids of hair, the exposure of bosoms and breasts, and outstretched arms. The female slave was bound with her mistress, the master with his slave, the archimandrite with the doorkeeper, tender youths with virgins, who had never been exposed to the sun and hardly ever seen by their own fathers, were dragged about, forcibly pushed together and flogged. The despoiler led them to a certain spot, and placing them in safekeeping, returned to take a second and even a third prize. The abductors, the avengers of God, were in a great hurry. Within one hour they had bound everyone, the male captives with cords and the women with their own veils. The infinite chains of captives who like herds of kine and flocks of sheep poured out of the temple and the temple sanctuary made an extraordinary spectacle! They wept and wailed and there was none to show them mercy.

21. What became of the temple treasures? What shall I say and how shall I say it? My tongue is stuck fast in my larynx. I am unable to draw breath through my sealed mouth. In that same hour the dogs hacked the holy icons to pieces, removing the ornaments. As for the chains, candelabra, holy altar coverings, and lamps, some they destroyed and the rest they seized. All the precious and sacred vessels of the holy sacristy, fashioned from gold and silver and other valuable materials, they collected in an instant, leaving the temple desolate and naked; absolutely nothing was left behind.

22. Then the words spoken by God through Amos the prophet were fulfilled in the New Sion: "Thus saith the Lord God Almighty. I will take vengeance on the altars of Bethel, and the horns of the altar shall be broken down, and they shall fall upon the ground; and I will crush and smite the turreted house upon the summer house, and the ivory houses shall be destroyed, and many other houses *shall be lost*, saith the Lord." [Amos 3:14-15] "I reject your feasts, and I will not smell your

meat-offerings in your general assemblies. Wherefore if ye should bring me your whole-burnt-sacrifices and meat-offerings I will not look upon them. Remove from me the sound of thy songs, and I will not hear the music of thine instruments." [Amos 5:21-23] "And the Lord said to me, the end is come upon my people Israel; I will not pass by them any more, and the ceilings of the temple shall howl in that day, saith the Lord. Hear now this, ye that oppress the poor in the morning, and drive the needy ones by tyranny from the earth, saying, When will the month pass away, and we shall sell, and the sabbath, and we shall open the treasure, to make the measure small, and to enlarge the weight, and make the balance unfair, that we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for shoes." [Amos 8:2-6] "In that day, saith the Lord, the sun shall go down at noon, and the light shall be darkened on the earth by day. And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation." [Amos 8:9-10]

23. The frightful day on which the City fell was the Feast Day of the Holy Martyr Theodosia. It was a very popular festival and on its eve many men and women kept an all night vigil at the saint's sepulcher. In the morning, as many women with their husbands set out to venerate the saint in her church, carrying beautifully embellished and adorned candles and incense, they suddenly fell into the trap of the Turks. How were they to know that such wrath could instantly spill over the whole City? They who had seen its magnitude, however, knew full well!

24. This menace, of which we have spoken, took fire and burned from the Gates of Charisios and St. Romanos to the environs of the palace. The resistance from the ships and along the harbor did not allow the Turks to throw up their scaling ladders on the walls. The Romans were superior to the Turks, discharging stones and missiles until the third hour [9 a.m.] of the day. About this time in the morning, a number of looters gained entrance into the City. Observing the Romans giving battle to the Turks outside the walls, the looters shouted with all their might and rushed to the top of the walls. When the Romans saw that the Turks were already inside the City, they emitted the anguished cry of woe and threw themselves off the wall. The strength and might of the Romans were exhausted.

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When the Turks in the ships saw their comrades inside the City, they knew that the City had fallen. They quickly threw up scaling ladders and climbed over the wall; then they broke down the gates and all rushed inside.

25. When the grand duke, who was guarding the Imperial Gate with five hundred troops, saw the Turks approaching his post, he abandoned the defense of the Gate and set out for his home with a few companions. All the Romans had dispersed. Some were captured before they could reach their homes. Others, on reaching their homes, found them robbed of children, wife, and belongings. Before they had time to groan and wail, their hands were bound behind them. Still others, on reaching their homes and finding their wives and children already abducted, were themselves bound and fettered with their closest friends and their wives. The old men and women who were unable to leave their houses, either because of infirmity or old age, were slaughtered mercilessly. The newborn infants were flung into the squares.²⁸⁸

26. The grand duke, returning home to find that his daughters, sons, and sick wife had taken shelter in the tower and had blocked the Turks from gaining entry, was taken captive with his companions. The tyrant dispatched soldiers to guard him and his entire household, and gave an ample sum of silver coins to the Turks who had besieged and surrounded his house in payment for their ransom according to the oath he had sworn. The grand duke and his entire household were placed under guard.

27. As the Turks entered the City, they all—even the muleteers and cooks—carried their plunder with them.

28. As soon as Giovanni Giustiniani, who in our last report was going back to his ship to dress his wound, reached the harbor, several of his men who had taken flight reported that the Turks had entered the City and that the emperor was slain. On hearing this most bitter and harsh news, he instructed his heralds to recall his adjutants and marines by bugle call.

29. The remaining ships also prepared to depart. Most of them had lost their captains through capture. It was a pitiful sight to behold at the harbor's edge men, women, monks, and nuns crying out piteously and beating their breasts, pleading with those in the ships to come to their rescue. But that was

impossible. It was foreordained, once and for all, that they must drink to the dregs the cup filled with the Lord's wrath. Even if the ships had wanted to help, they could not. And had the tyrant's ships not been occupied with looting and plundering the City, not one vessel would have escaped. The Turks had left their ships and were all inside the City. Consequently, finding their passage clear, the Latins sailed out of the harbor. The tyrant gnashed his teeth but was unable to stop them and endured the situation unwillingly.

30. When the Galatinians realized the magnitude of the disaster, they ran to the waterfront with their wives and children, looking for boats. Whenever they found one, they would row out and board the ships, leaving behind their belongings and homes. Because of their haste, many consigned their treasures to the deep and sustained many other terrible losses. One of the tyrant's viziers, Zaganos by name, who had helped him to organize the battle and was therefore favored by Mehmed, rushed to Galata, shouting, "Do not depart." Swearing an oath on the head of the tyrant, he assured them, "Be not afraid. You are the ruler's friends, and your city will suffer no injury. Furthermore, you will receive better treaties than your former treaties with the emperor and with us. Do not be concerned with anything else lest you move the ruler to wrath." With these words Zaganos was able to restrain the Franks of Galata from leaving. Nonetheless, all who were able to escape, did so. On taking counsel, those who remained behind took the keys of the fortress and, together with the podestà, set out to make obeisance to the tyrant. When they had done so, they surrendered the keys. Mehmed received them gladly and dismissed the Galatinians with cheerful words and countenance.

31. Only five large ships, spreading their sails, were able to sail free of the harbor. The other ships could not do so because they had been abandoned, and their captains were saved only by taking refuge in other vessels. The captive ship captains were left behind while their ships were saved by the crews. They moved out of the harbor in full sail, thanks to a prevailing north wind, and sailed away while lamenting the calamity of the City with groans and lamentations. The same was true of the Venetian merchant triremes.

32. When the Turkish marines came upon the multi-

tudes who had been left behind outside the City, they collected all the men and women and led them onto their ships. The rest of the citizens were herded into the tents at the fosse.

XL

1. All these events took place between the first hour of the day and the eighth hour [6 a.m. to 2 p.m.]. Setting aside his suspicions and fears, the tyrant made his entry into the City with his viziers and satraps, preceded and followed by his fire-eating slaves, all of whom were archers superior to Apollo, youthful Herakleidae eager to challenge ten men. Proceeding to the Great Church, he dismounted from his horse and went inside. He marveled at the sight! When he found a Turk smashing a piece of marble pavement, he asked him why he was demolishing the floor. "For the faith," he replied. He extended his hand and struck the Turk a blow with his sword, remarking "You have enough treasure and captives. The City's buildings are mine." When the tyrant beheld the treasures which had been collected and the countless captives, he regretted his compact. The Turk was dragged by the feet and cast outside half dead. He summoned one of his vile priests who ascended the pulpit to call out his foul prayer. The son of iniquity, the forerunner of Antichrist, ascending the holy altar, offered the prayer.

2. Alas, the calamity! Alack, the horrendous deed! Woe is me! What has befallen us? Oh! Oh! What have we witnessed? An infidel Turk, standing on the holy altar in whose foundation the relics of Apostles and Martyrs have been deposited! Shudder, O sun! Where is the Lamb of God, and where is the Son and Logos of the Father Who is sacrificed thereon, and eaten, and never consumed? Truly we have been reckoned as frauds! Our worship has been reckoned as nothing by the nations. Because of our sins the temple which was rebuilt in the name of the Wisdom of the Logos of God, and is called the Temple of

the Holy Trinity, and Great Church and New Sion, today has become an altar of barbarians, and has been named and has become the House of Muhammad. Just is Thy judgment, O Lord.

3. When Mehmed left the sanctuary, he asked for the grand duke who was immediately brought forth. He approached and made obeisance, and then Mehmed spoke to him, "Did you do well not to surrender the City? Behold the damage and ruin! Behold the captivity of so many!" The duke replied, "Lord, we did not have the authority to give you the City. The emperor himself did not have that authority. Moreover, some of your own officials urged the emperor to do otherwise by writing such words as: 'Fear not. He will not prevail against you.'" The tyrant assumed that this was Halil Pasha against whom he nursed a grudge. When he heard the name of the emperor, he asked if he had escaped in the ships. The duke replied that he did not know because he was posted at the Imperial Gate when the Turks, who entered by the Gate of Charisios, encountered the emperor. Two youths from the army now stepped forward. The first informed the tyrant, "Lord, I slew him. I was in a hurry to enter the City with my companions to search for plunder, so I left him behind dead." The second youth added, "I struck him the first blow." The tyrant ordered both men to bring back the emperor's head. Running swiftly, they found him, and cutting off his head, they presented it to the ruler. The tyrant inquired of the grand duke, "Tell me truthfully if this is the head of your emperor." Upon careful examination, he answered, "It is his, Lord." Others saw it too and recognized it. Then they affixed it to the Column of the Augustaion, and it remained there until evening. Afterward, the skin was peeled off and stuffed with straw, and Mehmed sent it around, exhibiting the symbol of his triumph to the chief of the Persians and Arabs, and to all the other Turks.²⁸⁹

4. Others say, however, that the duke was discovered with Orchan in the tower of the castle of the Franks, and that they gave themselves up there because it was no longer possible to resist the Turks. There were many noblemen of rank with the duke. Orchan exchanged his clothing for the habit of a monk, and lowered himself through one of the archer's embrasures to the ground outside the City. Turkish marines, however, seized

and bound him and then cast him into the hole with other captives. When the survivors in the tower had surrendered, they too were taken to that same ship. One of the captives, to gain his freedom, bargained with the ship captain: "If you will set me free this day, I will deliver to you both Orchan and the grand duke." The captain promised to set him free. When he had fingered the black-garbed Orchan, the ship captain, verifying that it was truly he, cut off his head. Taking the grand duke alive and Orchan's head, he brought both to the ruler in Kosmedion, who rewarded the ship captain with many gifts and then dismissed him. The ruler commanded the grand duke to be seated, and after consoling him, ordered a search made at the fosse and on the ships for his children and wife, who were immediately brought forward. Mehmed paid their captors one thousand silver coins per head, and then sent the grand duke and his family home. But first, in an effort to lift his spirits and comfort him, Mehmed informed him, "I plan to entrust this City and her welfare to you, and I will raise you to greater glory than you ever enjoyed under the emperor. Do not, therefore, be despondent." When Mehmed learned from him the identity of the noblemen who had been distinguished palace officials, he recorded all their names. He then collected them from the ships and tents and redeemed them, paying the Turks one thousand silver coins per person.

5. The morning following the black day on which the utter destruction of our nation took place, the tyrant entered the City and went to the home of the grand duke. The latter came out to greet him and after he had made obeisance, Mehmed went inside. The grand duke's wife was sick in bed. ²⁹⁰ Approaching her bed, the wolf in sheep's clothing addressed her, "Greetings, Mother. Grieve not over the events which have taken place. The Lord's will be done. I will restore to you more than you have lost. Only get well." The grand duke's sons came forward and made obeisance, and when they had expressed their gratitude, Mehmed left to tour the City. The entire City was desolate. Within, neither man nor beast nor fowl was heard to cry out or utter a sound. Only they were left who were too weak to pillage. Many were killed as one dragged away the spoils of another. He who was able seized, and he who was unable to resist, received a mortal blow and succumbed. On the

second day, the thirtieth of May, the Turkish troops entered and collected whatever had been abandoned.

6. After the tyrant had traversed most of the City, he celebrated by holding a banquet on the palace grounds. Full of wine and in a drunken stupor, he summoned his chief eunuch and commanded him, "Go to the home of the grand duke and tell him, "The ruler orders you to send your younger son to the banquet." The youth was handsome and fourteen years old. When the boy's father heard this, his face turned ashen as though he had been struck dead. He protested to the chief eunuch, "It is not our custom to hand over my own child to be despoiled by him. It would be far better for me if the executioner were sent to take my head." The chief eunuch advised him to surrender his child for otherwise the tyrant would be wrathful. But the grand duke was unconvinced, and said, "If you want him you will have to seize him. I could never willingly surrender him to you." The chief eunuch reported to the ruler all that had been said by the grand duke and that he refused to hand over the child. In a rage, the tyrant commanded the chief eunuch, "Take the executioner with you, and bring me back the boy. Let the executioner bring the duke and his sons."

7. When they had arrived and the duke learned of the command he embraced his wife and children and set out with the executioner, his son, and son-in-law, Kantakouzenos.²⁹¹ The chief eunuch took the boy with him. He entered the palace to show the boy to the ruler and to inform him that the others were standing at the palace gate. Mehmed ordered the executioner to cut off their heads with the sword. The executioner took them a little way below the palace and told them the decision. When the duke's son heard they were to be slaughtered, he wept. His courageous father gave strength and support to the youths by saying to them, "Children, yesterday in a fleeting moment of time, you witnessed the undoing of all our works. Our inexhaustible wealth, the wondrous glory we enjoyed in this great city, a glory envied by all Christendom, all were lost. Now, in this hour, nothing is left us but this present life. This life will not continue forever. We must die sometime. And how will we die? Deprived of our goods, robbed of glory, honor, and authority, despised by all, scorned and harassed until Death comes to us, taking from the survivors those

stripped of all honor. Where is our emperor? Was he not slain yesterday? Where is my *sympentheros* ²⁹² and your father, the grand domestic? Where is the Marshal Palaiologos with his two sons? Were they not slain yesterday in battle? Would that we had died with them. However, this hour is sufficient unto us. Let us sin no more. Who knows the weapons of the devil, and if we remained here, we would not be wounded by his poisonous shafts? The stadium is now ready. In the name of Him Who was crucified for us, died and arose, let us also die so that together with Him we may enjoy His blessings." The courage of the youths was bolstered with these sentiments, and they were ready to die. To the Executioner he said, "Carry out your instructions, beginning with the youths." Complying with the request, the executioner beheaded the youths while the grand duke stood by and murmured, "I thank Thee Lord," and, "Thou art just, Lord." He then spoke to the Executioner, "Brother, grant me a little time to go inside and pray." There was a small chapel in that place. Permission being granted him, he went inside and prayed. Afterward, as he exited through the chapel gate—the bodies of his sons were still twitching there—and offered up, once more, a doxology to God, his head was cut off. The executioner picked up the heads and returned to the banquet, presenting them to the bloodthirsty beast. He had abandoned the bodies where they lay naked and uninterred.

8. Mehmed sent the chief nobles and palace officials whom he had redeemed to the Executioner, and they also were slaughtered. From among their wives and children, he selected the beautiful maidens and handsome boys, and entrusted them to the watchful care of the chief eunuch. The remaining captives he entrusted to the care of others until they could be taken to Babylon, that is, Adrianople.

9. To behold the whole City in the tents at the fosse was indeed a spectacle. And the City was desolate, lying dead, naked, soundless, having neither form nor beauty.

XLI

1. O City, City, head of all cities! O City, City, the center of the four corners of the earth! O City, City, the boast of Christians and the ruin of barbarians! O City, City, a second Paradise planted in the West and containing within many plants, laden with spiritual fruits.

2. Where is your beauty, O Paradise? Where is the beneficent vigor of your spiritual graces which infuse both soul and body? Where are the bodies of the Apostles of my Lord which long ago were planted in the evergreen Paradise? Among them were the purple cloak, the lance, the sponge, the reed; when we kissed these, we imagined that we were seeing Him Who was raised on the Cross. Where are the relics of the saints and of the martyrs? Where are the remains of Constantine the Great and of the other emperors? The highways, the courtyards, the crossroads, the fields, the enclosures of vineyards, all abounding with the relics of saints and with the remains of nobles, the chaste, and monks and nuns! O, the loss! "The dead bodies of thy servants, O Lord, have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth *round about New Sion* and there was none to bury them." [Psalm 78:2-3]

3. O temple! O terrestrial heaven! O celestial altar! O sacred and holy shrines! O commandments, old and new! O tablets inscribed by the finger of God! O Gospels spoken by the mouth of God! O divine discourses of flesh-bearing angels! O doctrines of spirit-bearing men! O precepts of demigods and heroes! O body politic! O citizenry! O army once beyond number and now vanished like a sinking ship at sea! O dwellings and palaces of every kind and sacred walls! This day I convoke you all and as animate beings I mourn with you having Jeremias for the choral leader of this pitiful tragedy.

4. "How does the city that was filled with people sit solitary! She is become as a widow: she that was magnified among the nations, and princess among the provinces, has

become tributary. She weeps sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks; and there is none of all her lovers to comfort her: all that were her friends have dealt deceitfully with her; they are become her enemies. *Asia* is gone into captivity by reason of her affliction, and by reason of the abundance of her servitude; she dwells among the nations, she has not found rest: all her pursuers have overtaken her between her oppressors. The ways of the *City* mourn, because there are none that come to the feast; all her gates are ruined: her priests groan, her virgins are led captive, and she is in bitterness in herself. Her oppressors are become the head, and her enemies have prospered; for the Lord has afflicted her because of the multitude of her sins: her young children are gone into captivity before the face of the oppressor. And all her beauty has been taken away from the daughter of *Sion*: her princes were as rams finding no pasture, and are gone away in weakness before the face of the pursuer. When her enemies saw it they laughed at her habitation. *Jerusalem* has sinned a great sin; therefore has she come into tribulation." [Lamentations 1:1-8]

5. "The oppressor has stretched out his hand on all her desirable things; for she has seen the Gentiles entering into her sanctuary, concerning whom thou didst command that they should not enter into thy congregation. All her people groan, seeking bread: they have given their desirable things for meat, to restore their soul: behold, Lord, and look." [Lamentations 1:10-11] "All ye that pass by the way, *look attentively*, and see if there is sorrow like to my sorrow, *which has been given me*. He has sent fire from his lofty habitation, he has brought it into my bones: he has spread a net for my feet, he has turned me back: he has made me desolate and mourning all the day." [Lamentations 1:12-13]

6. "The Lord has cut off all my strong men from the midst of me: he has summoned against me a time for crushing my choice men: the Lord has trodden a wine-press for the virgin daughter of *Judah*: for these things I weep. My sons have been destroyed, because the enemy has prevailed." [Lamentations 1:15 and last line of 16]

7. "The Lord is righteous; for I have provoked his mouth: hear, I pray you, all people, and behold my grief: my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity. I called my

lovers, but they deceived me: my priests and my elders failed in the city." [Lamentations 1:18-19]

8. "Hear, I pray you, I groan." [Lamentations 1:21]

9. "The Lord is become as an enemy, and he has *broken open* his tabernacle as a vine, he has marred his feast. The Lord has forgotten the feast and the sabbath which he appointed in *the City*, and in the fury of his wrath has vexed the king, and priest. The Lord has rejected his altar, he has cast off his sanctuary, he has broken by *his* hand the wall of her palaces; they have uttered the voice of *war* in the house of the Lord as a *psalm of Levites* on a feast day." [Lamentations 2:5 and half of line 7]

10. "Behold, O Lord, and see for whom thou hast gathered thus. The infants sucking at the breasts *were* slain. Wilt thou slay the priest and prophet in the sanctuary of the Lord? The child and the old man have lain down on the *ground of streets*; my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity." [Lamentations 2:20-21]

11. "The Lord has accomplished his wrath; he has poured out his fierce anger, and has kindled a fire *in the City*, and it has devoured her foundation." [Lamentations 4:11]

12. "Remember, O Lord, what has happened to us: behold, and look on our reproach. Our inheritance has been turned away to aliens, our houses to strangers: we are become orphans, we have no father, our mothers are as widows." [Lamentations 5:1-3]

13. "We have been persecuted, we have laboured, we have had no rest." [Lamentations 5:5]

14. "Our fathers sinned, and are not: *and* we have borne their iniquities. Servants have ruled over us: there is none to ransom us out of their hand." [Lamentations 5:7-8]

15. "Our skin is become old like an oven; they are convulsed, because of the storms of famine." [Lamentations 5:10]

16. "The chosen men did *grind in the mills*, and the youths *were impaled upon crosses*. And the elders *fell* from the gate, and the chosen men ceased from their music. The joy of our heart has ceased; our dance is turned into mourning; the crown has fallen from our head. Yea, woe to us! for we have sinned. For this our heart is become sorrowful. For this our

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eyes are darkened. Over the *new* Sion, because it is made desolate, foxes have walked therein. But thou, O Lord, shalt dwell for ever; thy throne shall endure to generation and generation. Wherefore wilt thou utterly forget us, and abandon us a long time? Turn us, O Lord, to thee, and we shall be turned; and *let our day be renewed* as before. For thou has indeed rejected us; thou hast been very wroth against us." [Lamentations 5:13-22]

17. These lamentations and complaints vented by Jeremiah at the fall of the old Jerusalem were clearly revealed, I believe, to the prophet by the Spirit concerning the new Jerusalem.

18. Moreover, what tongue can express the calamity which befell the City and the terrible captivity, and the bitter migration she suffered, deported not from Jerusalem to Babylon or to the Assyrians, but from Constantinople to Syria, Egypt, Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Africa, scattered throughout Italy, Asia Minor, and the other provinces. And how was this done? The husband was taken to Paphlagonia and the wife to Egypt. The children were dispersed in other places and they converted from one language to another, and from piety to impiety, and from sacred scriptures to uncouth writings.

19. Shudder, O Sun! And you too, O Earth, heave a heavy sigh at the utter abandonment by God, the Just Judge, of our generation because of our sins! We are not worthy to raise our eyes to heaven. We must first bow down and touch our faces to the earth, and then we may cry out, "Thou art just, O Lord, and righteous is Thy Judgment. We have sinned and we have committed iniquities and injustices against all nations. With true and righteous judgment Thou hast visited upon us our tribulations. But spare us, O Lord, we entreat Thee."

XLII

1. Three days after the Fall, Mehmed released the ships so that they might sail to their own province and city. They carried so much cargo that they almost sank from the weight. What cargo did they carry? Costly apparel, silver, gold, copper and tin vessels, and books beyond number. They were filled to capacity with captives—priests and laymen, nuns and monks. The tents at the fosse were also teeming with captives and with the multifarious articles enumerated above. It was indeed spectacular to see a barbarian wearing an episcopal *sakkos*,²⁹³ and another girded about with a golden stole and leading around dogs that were arrayed in fabrics embroidered with golden lambs instead of in coarse blankets. Others were sitting and feasting, eating a variety of fruits from the sacred patens in front of them, and drinking unwatered wine from the sacred chalices. Innumerable books were loaded onto the wagons and hauled in all directions; they were dispersed throughout East and West. For a single gold coin, ten books were sold—the works of Aristotle and Plato, books of theological content and on every subject. Gold and silver were pulled from the Evangelistaries which were adorned with many different jewels; some were sold and the rest were thrown away. All the icons were thrown to the flames and the meats they ate were roasted by the fire that was kindled.

2. On the fifth day Mehmed visited Galata. Ordering a census taken of all the inhabitants, he found that many of the homes had been bolted because the Latins had fled in the ships. He ordered the homes opened and an inventory taken of their belongings. He stipulated that should the owners return within a period of three months, they would be allowed to repossess their possessions, but if they failed to return, all would then be confiscated by the ruler. Afterwards, he commanded the entire army with the assistance of the outlying villages to demolish and raze the walls of Galata. Once this was accomplished they would be dismissed. His orders were executed. The land walls

were overthrown but the walls along the harbor were allowed to stand.

3. In order to prepare enough lime to rebuild the fallen walls of the City, Mehmed ordered the lime-slakers to work the whole month of August. After five thousand families were registered from both the eastern and western provinces, Mehmed instructed them and their entire households to take up residence in the City by September on penalty of death. He next appointed his slave Sulayman *eparch*. He converted the Great Church into an altar for his God and Muhammad, but left the other churches desolate. He returned triumphant to Adrianople with innumerable captives and booty.

4. He departed from the City on the eighteenth day of June, taking with him in wagons and on horseback all the noblewomen and their daughters. The wife of the grand duke died en route near the village of Mesene and she was buried there. She was renowned for her charity and compassion for the indigent and for being a prudent woman who exercised restraint over the many passions of the spirit.

5. Mehmed's majestic triumphal entry into Adrianople was followed—and what a spectacle it was—by all the noblewomen and Christian governors and rulers streaming in and greeting him with "Hail!" With what heart and intent did their lips and mouths say this? Afraid that they might suffer the same fate as the City, they involuntarily made their submission with gifts. The tyrant was sitting on his throne, haughty and proud, boasting about the fall of the City. The Christian rulers stood there trembling and wondering what the future held in store for them.

6. First, he demanded of the Serb ambassador the annual payment of twelve thousand gold coins to the Turkish throne. The despots of the Peloponnesos were instructed to appear in person annually with gifts to make their obeisance and to submit the payment of ten thousand gold coins. The lord of Chios was to make an annual payment of six thousand gold coins and the lord of Mitylene three thousand gold coins annually. The emperor of Trebizond and all those who resided along the Black Sea were to come annually with gifts to make obeisance and to pay the tribute.²⁹⁴

7. In August of the first year, when the ambassadors of

the despot of Serbia arrived and delivered the tribute money which was due, they performed a great act of mercy in Adrianople. Following instructions of Despot George, they ransomed and freed about a hundred nuns, both young and old. All captives who were nobles and palace officials sought refuge in Serbia, after they had received from him and his wife, in the name of mercy, the monies necessary to pay their ransom.

8. When autumn arrived and the year 6962 [1453] ran its course, Mehmed, who wintered in Adrianople, decided to attack the despot in the spring and add all Serbia to his dominion. After the fall of the City, the despot expected each day to receive this bitter news and to suffer the iniquity of the insatiable tyrant. The despot was a pragmatic old man who had already suffered many injustices at the tyrant's hands, as we have often demonstrated. What, therefore, was the pretext for this iniquitous action? Mehmed sent him the following declaration, "The land over which you rule as despot, namely Serbia, is not yours nor your father's, but the inheritance of Stefan Lazarević. It belongs, therefore, to me. Depart immediately from its borders. I will award you a portion of the land of your father Vuk and the city of Sofia. Otherwise, I will march against you." He made this declaration through one of his most trusted servants who was commanded to return within twenty-five days with the despot's reply. If he failed to do so, he threatened to cut off his head and cast his body to wild beasts for food. When the tyrant's ambassador arrived in Serbia, he was informed that the despot was sojourning on the far side of the Danube. The Serb officials detained him on the pretext that "the Despot is returning today" or "he will arrive tomorrow." In the meantime, they were repairing the fortresses and filling the storehouses with necessary provisions. When the ambassador realized that he was being deceived, he became afraid that he might pay the penalty for his delay because his stay had already lasted over thirty days. The tyrant, infuriated, marched out of Adrianople with his entire army and went to Philippopolis. His servant finally arrived and told of the despot's flight to Hungary, the ruse of his officials who had placed the servant under custody and would not release him. The tyrant would have put him to death but the servant, before the expiration of the time limit, had sent word, informing the ruler of his delay. Moreover,

he apprised him both that the Serbs were constructing war engines and that the despot had taken flight.

9. The Hungarians, crossing the river at one point and despoiling the environs of Trnovo, engaged the Turkish army. Victorious, they recrossed the Danube with enormous plunder.

10. The tyrant left Philippopolis and proceeded to Sofia. Then he left the army with his viziers and the entire senate, and penetrated into Serbia with twenty thousand foot soldiers. No one was there to oppose him since the despot had gone to Hungary many days before with his entire household, and his nobles followed with their entire households. The despot had fortified the fortresses and instructed the entire populace to take up quarters within, commanding them not to lose heart or surrender because he planned to come to their aid shortly with a huge force.

11. The tyrant advanced as far as Smederovo for whose fall he yearned because it is situated on the river bank and provides passage for those who intend to cross into Hungary. He was unable, however, to conquer it and so returned. He attacked a certain fortress but it refused to surrender. The populace, residing outside the fortress in the towns and villages of the plain, were protected by a second line of defense outside the fortress. Although the fortress was very well fortified, the outer fortifications were not so substantial. The perjurer, who had offered solemn pledges, took possession of the outer fortifications and then took all the inhabitants captive. The fortress itself, however, did not surrender.

12. Mehmed returned to Adrianople with the booty by way of Sofia. There he awarded one half to his officials and to the troops who had labored with him. After claiming half of the captives for himself, he sent them to populate the villages outside Constantinople. His allotted portion was four thousand men and women.

13. Leaving Adrianople, he arrived in Constantinople. While sojourning in Philippopolis, he had issued orders for the City's demolished walls to be rebuilt. He found them properly restored and reconstructed. When he entered the City, he measured off an area in the center of approximately one mile and gave instructions for a courtyard to be marked out and for palaces to be constructed within. When the enclosure was com-

pleted, it was roofed over with lead tiles which had been removed from the monasteries which were left desolate. Fullers entered the Monastery of the Pantokrator and took up quarters there, and shoemakers were busy at work in the center of the church. Turkish dervishes took over the Monastery of Mangana while all the others were occupied by Turks with their wives and children.

14. What I now write after the fall of the City, I ought not to write because it is not proper for me to record the victories and exploits of an impious tyrant and implacable enemy and murderer of our nation. But I have been persuaded to write about these events for the following reasons. While still a youth I learned from old and venerable men that the end of the Ottoman tyranny would take place with the extinction of the Palaiologan dynasty. These two began together, Othman in tyranny and Michael Palaiologos in sovereignty. Michael's reign ended shortly after Othman's began. Othman's tyranny coincided with the reign of Michael's son, Andronikos Palaiologos. Othman ruled as a tyrant in the latter days of Michael but he was also a brigand. According to this prophecy, the end of the emperors and of the City was to occur first, followed by the cessation of the Ottoman reign. It so happened that at that time Michael resorted to divination to learn if his son was to inherit the empire at his death. Because he had usurped the imperial throne by blinding the legitimate heir and consequently countless excommunications were called down on his head and against his family line, he was bothered by his conscience. The oracle emitted the unintelligible sound of *mamaimi*,²⁹⁵ which the seer interpreted as: "So many emperors will reign from your seed as there are letters in the unintelligible word, and then the imperial rule will be removed from the City and from your posterity." We, therefore, who have reached this point in these present days, and who have witnessed the consummation of the dreadful and terrible threat made against our nation, await as in a reverie the restoration. And as we fervently importune God, Who chastiseth and again restoreth, with great desire for the fulfillment of the predictions of reverent men, we also record the deeds perpetrated by the tyrant following the threat of God. Let us now return to the concluding portion of our history.

XLIII

1. During the second year after the tyrant had become master of Constantinople, the year 6963 [1454] from the creation of the world, and while he was in Adrianople, Knights Hospitalers arrived from Rhodes²⁹⁶ with many gifts to make obeisance to the tyrant. They wished to negotiate solemn treaties allowing them to trade freely in the neighboring regions of Caria and Lycia. The Turks, in turn, would be able to go to Rhodes without fear and freely purchase needed provisions from Rhodes and her subject islands. The tyrant demanded the payment of tribute. The ambassadors explained that they did not have the authority to make a decision. The viziers countered, "If you do not agree to pay tribute, then you will not have the ruler's amity. From this moment he is the lord of all the islands in the Aegean Sea. Just as the Chians and Lesbians and Lemnians and Imbriotes and other islands have submitted, so must you also. If you do not submit, a mighty battle will be fought, and the great ruler will destroy the island and surrounding regions." The ambassadors replied, "Let one of the ruler's servants accompany us to speak of this to the grand master. If it be his will, let him pay tribute and do whatever else he may deem beneficial for the island. We, however, are not authorized to answer on our own." The tyrant pleased with the reply, and dismissing them with honor, sent along with them one of his esteemed servants.

2. When they arrived in Rhodes and the grand master had listened carefully to the ruler's words, he replied to the servant thus: "This island does not belong to me. As you are subject to your own lord, I also am subject to the pope. The pope has commanded me to pay tribute to no one. It is not only to your ruler, who belongs to an alien nation and is a believer in an alien faith, that I am forbidden to pay tribute but I may not even do so to any of the kings of our compatriots and correlative religionists. Thus I say, if he desires to be our friend, I will annually send ambassadors, at my own expense, to salute him as

neighbor and great ruler. Lo, this is good! If, however, he does not desire to be our friend, then let him do what he can." With these derisive words he dismissed the servant.

3. On hearing these words, the tyrant was filled with rage, and declared a mighty war. He granted permission to anyone who desired to take captives and destroy whatever he could. Then the Turks living in the province of Caria boarded some thirty biremes and light boats and crossed to the opposite shore of Rhodes. They landed on the island like pirates and took forty souls captive. They did the same on the island of Kos.

4. With the advent of spring, Mehmed fitted out a huge squadron of twenty-five triremes, fifty biremes, and over a hundred monoremes, so that all together they numbered some one hundred eighty ships. Sailing from Gallipoli in June, they came to Mitylene. The admiral was Hamza, cupbearer to his father by whom he had been installed governor of the entire Chersonese and captain of the fleet.

5. The lord received him with honor and sent me to greet him in a manner worthy of his rank. He did not put into port but brought his ship to the opposite shore, stern foremost, so that there would be no confusion in the city. The harbor there was capable of receiving such a large fleet. Hamza was a conscientious man. The lord sent me with gifts and many other customary offerings, and I welcomed the man and treated him as though he were the lord's brother. The gifts sent were garments made of silk, eight woven woolen garments, six thousand minted silver coins, twenty oxen, fifty sheep, over eight hundred measures of wine, two measures of biscuits, one measure of soft bread, over one thousand litres of cheese, and fruits beyond measure. His colleagues also received their proportionate share.

6. They remained at Hagiasmatin—the name of the place—for two days and then spreading sail, they sailed to Chios, where they crossed to the opposite shore and anchored. The Chians, however, did not display the same generosity which the lord of Lesbos had shown them. A short time before, the tyrant had held the Chians in contempt because of a debt of forty thousand gold coins, the price of alum, for the payment of which Francesco Drapperio,²⁹⁷ one of the magistrates of

Galata, had appealed. Francesco was with the fleet, and the tyrant had given orders that if Francesco were not paid this debt Hamza was to attack Chios and destroy as much of the island as possible. The next day the squadron moved from the opposite shore and dropped anchor off the Church of the Martyr Isidore. The Chians dispatched some officials to greet Hamza. When they read the tyrant's terms which he delivered to them, they replied, "We neither owe Francesco a debt nor are we about to pay him. Let him do as he likes." Then Hamza disembarked his Turks and they did some looting in the surrounding villages. They damaged the vineyards and vegetable gardens, but they were unable to assault the town. An army of men were outside the town while inside a multitude of arms and quick-tempered Italians were eager for slaughter. The town was encircled by double trenches which were very wide and more than eighteen feet deep. In the harbor there were more than twenty Genoese vessels filled with men and arms.

7. When Hamza saw that he could accomplish nothing, he requested that the magistrates send one or two spokesmen with promises of safe conduct, to one of the triremes to deliberate with Francesco. Two men, trusting his word, came forth, one elder whose name was Cyricus Giustinias and a youth. On the way to the squadron they discussed the matter and became troubled and disturbed by the following possibility: "If the Turk, despite his promises, changes his mind and decides to abduct us on his triremes, who will persuade him that he has acted falsely? None of the Turks certainly! They would regard the deed as a manly and prudent action." As they deliberated along this line, they drew near the fleet. The closer they came, the more did fear congeal their souls. Pulling up their reins, they turned their horses around. A company of Turkish troops, posted in the vineyards and vegetable gardens, rushed onto the roadside and obstructed their passage. Their Frankish escort offered no opposition and was routed with a discharge of missiles. The Turks then seized the two officials and brought them before the captain, who took them on board his trireme. The squadron weighed anchor, hoisted the sails, and set sail for Rhodes.

8. When they neared the island, the enormous city and harbor, which was filled with large ships all standing in battle

formation, loomed into view from afar. When they saw that there was twice as much artillery as at Chios, they cut through the sea to the island of Kos where they disembarked. The Catholic fortress was deserted but they carried off whatever they could find. The Turks questioned several old men and women about the whereabouts of the citizens. They replied that they had gone to a fortress called Racheia because it was well-fortified. They seized the old people before sailing to Racheia where, going ashore, the Turks pitched their tents. The next day they demanded the surrender of the fortress and gave their solemn word that they would take no captives. Francesco undertook the negotiations since he knew the language, but the Friars of the fortress, not deigning to reply, drove him away with arrows and missiles. After besieging the fortress for twenty-two days with his troops, siege engines, scaling ladders, and all other means, and making no headway, Hamza retreated, leaving behind many Turks, some slain by the fortress's garrison, and some succumbed to intestinal disease.

9. On the way, Hamza spoke with Cyricus and made a compromise: both parties agreed that two spokesmen from the magistrates of Chios, one of whom would be Cyricus, should be sent to the ruler in Adrianople; they would present the whole case to him, and accept his decision as final. When they reached Chios, Hamza released them so that they could return to their homes, and they honored him and his companions with customary gifts.

10. But what grim Fate has been spun for the Chians? The Turks got drunk after they disembarked from the triremes and began to behave riotously, cursing and perpetrating disgraceful acts. One of the Turks began to throw tiles down from the roof of a church, smashing them. When an Italian saw the Turk shamelessly smashing the tiles, he struck the Turk, and his fellow Turks ran to his assistance. When both Latin and Roman Christians beheld the mob, they pounced on the Turks and inflicted blows with swords and clubs. The Turks took flight and boarded Hamza's bireme. Hamza would not allow anyone to disembark from the triremes, but threatened any who might do so with the gibbet. Some of the Turks who attempted to return to their bireme, made it aboard while others ran into the sea. The Christians, striking them all the time, chased them onto

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the bireme. Both Turks and Christians were concentrated on one side of the bireme, their weight causing the keel to rise up out of the water, which capsized the vessel and it sank to the bottom. All the Turks on board, guilty or innocent, drowned, the most important of whom was Hamza's beloved servant, the majordomo of his household. Both Hamza and the island's magistrates were saddened by the event. Hamza's noble-mindedness, however, and the good will of the magistrates assuaged his anger. The Chians paid him double the value of the bireme and the servant and of everything else that was destroyed. With Hamza pacified, the Turks departed in peace.

11. When the squadron came to Mitylene, the lord sent an invitation to Hamza to enter the harbor. I was sent by the lord to prepare a lavish feast aboard his trireme, and Hamza and the lord came on board and dined together. In the morning, after an absence of two months, Hamza sailed out of the harbor to Gallipoli, and from Gallipoli he continued to Adrianople.

12. The tyrant, infuriated by the misfortune of the naval expedition, reproached Hamza with contumely and opprobrium, "If it were not for the love which I know my father cherished for you," he said, "I would have the skin flayed from your flesh." The tyrant, after speaking in this fashion, expelled him.

13. Some days later, after being told by others about the incident on the bireme when many Turks had drowned while others were slaughtered by the Chians who had raised their hands against them, the tyrant summoned Hamza and angrily asked, "Where is the bireme which was sunk by the Chians, O Hamza?" The latter replied, "It sank beneath the deep." The former asked, "In the open sea?" Hamza answered, "No, Lord, in the harbor." "By whom?" "By the Latins. Against my orders the Turks went ashore, and, drunk with wine, they began to smash the doors and roofs of the churches. When the Latins saw this, they tried to stop them but the Turks only fought more furiously. With the vulgar mob in close pursuit after them, they boarded the bireme in disorderly fashion which made the ship list to one side and the sea poured in. In their drunken condition they were unable to right the ship; it sank and all were drowned." Then the tyrant questioned Hamza, "And why did you not tell me of the incident?" Hamza

answered, "I did not wish to distress you. The damage sustained was mine, the ship was mine, the drowned servants were mine, and everything on the ship was mine. What was there for me to tell you, Lord? A number of Turks drowned; all deserved death and they justly perished." When Hamza had concluded his answers, the tyrant declared relentless war against Chios.

14. Francesco, appearing before the tribunal, was asked by the tyrant, "Where are the forty thousand gold coins, Francesco?" This was the sum he owed the tyrant. The tyrant continued, "Go. From this moment you are free of this debt. I am one who will require twice what is mine from the Chians as well as compensation for Turkish blood."²⁹⁸ Kissing the tyrant's hand and receiving a discharge of debt in writing, Francesco departed. Hamza, on the other hand, was expelled from Gallipoli and sent to govern Attalia in Pamphylia. The tyrant declared relentless war and hostility against Chios.

XLIV

1. On 30 June of this year 6963 [1455], Dorino Gattilusio,²⁹⁹ the lord of the island of Lesbos, died. On the first of August I was sent by the new lord, his son Domenico Gattilusio,³⁰⁰ to Adrianople to deliver the annual tribute of three thousand gold coins on behalf of the island of Lesbos and two thousand three hundred and twenty-five gold coins on behalf of the island of Lemnos. The latter island had been awarded to the lord of Lesbos by the tyrant in return for the prescribed tribute. To the lord of Ainos he had awarded the island of Imbros with the understanding that he too should pay one thousand two hundred gold coins for the island. When I arrived, I made obeisance to the ruler and, having kissed his hand according to custom, sat before him until he had finished his dinner, and making obeisance, I departed. On the next day I came with the gold coins and delivered them into the hands of the viziers.

When they received the tribute, they asked me, "How is the lord of Mitylene? Is he well?" I answered, "He is well and greets you." They continued, "We are inquiring about the old man, the Catholic lord." Again I answered, "Today makes forty days since he died. His son, who rules now, was made lord six years ago. Since the old lord was ill and bedridden, he transferred the rule to his son who came more than once to make obeisance, bringing felicitous greetings to the great ruler in the City." They remarked, "Say no more. He has become lord only today, for the only way that he can become lord of Lesbos is by coming and receiving the authority from the hands of the sublime ruler. Go now and return with him. If he does otherwise, he knows what the future holds in store for him."

2. After my return to Mitylene, the lord, several Latin and Roman officials, and myself, placing our hopes in God, left the island. We crossed the Chersonese and went to Adrianople. The ruler, however, was moving about from place to place because of the bubonic plague. There was such a pestilence in the Chersonese and in all of Thrace at that time that many were thrown onto the thoroughfares and left uninterred. On learning that the ruler was sojourning in Philippopolis, we made our way there. We missed the ruler by two days. In order to escape the dreadful disease which had also reached that city, he marched toward the regions of Sofia. And so we too set out from Philippopolis, and crossing the extremely rugged mountainous terrain, we arrived, on the third day, at the Bulgarian town of Izladi. The tyrant was encamped here with his army. We presented ourselves to the viziers, Mahmud Pasha and Said Ahmad Pasha.³⁰¹ The next day we appeared before the ruler, and after kissing the tyrant's hand, we withdrew. The following day the viziers delivered a message to our lord from the tyrant stating that he wished to possess the island of Thasos and demanding, therefore, that the island be awarded to him. The lord of Lesbos, who had no power to oppose him or to argue the case, awarded him the island. On the following day, there came another message stating that he intended to double the annual tribute. The lord of Mitylene was vexed by this and protested, "If he desires to take all Lesbos, he has the power to do so. But these demands are beyond my power. Consequently, I beseech you, my lords, to give me a helping hand." After the viziers had

appealed to the tyrant, he added another thousand gold coins and no more. The sum paid annually had been three thousand gold coins but now it was four thousand. Domenico was vested in a gold-embroidered robe while we were dressed in silken garments. After sacred oaths were exchanged to abide by the treaty that was drawn up, we departed. Thirteen days later we reached the island of Lesbos, glorifying God Who had rescued us from the hands of the avenger.

3. While we were sojourning in Philippopolis, the tyrant had fitted out a small squadron of ten triremes and ten biremes under the command of the general Yunus,³⁰² a handsome young man who was also appointed governor of Gallipoli and grand constable of the fleet. He sailed from the Hellespont to attack Chios. At the Troad he spread sail to continue on his way, when suddenly there blew up a fierce storm with gale winds, making a thunderous roar. The churning of the sea compelled the ships to alter course. Five of the twenty ships sank and two were wrecked along the coast. Constable Yunus's ship captain, a Latin Spaniard by nationality, had weathered many tempests and heavy seas. Calmly and ably manipulating the rudders, he backed water and by cutting through the roaring waves, he kept afloat. They bypassed Chios from the West and sailed through the Cyclades islands for the whole day; a fair breeze blew during the night. When they recognized one of the islands as Chios, they ascribed thanksgiving hymns to God and to their prophet Muhammad. The judgments of God are deep. In the tempest and violent turbulence of such a sea, why did the ship not sink? Because of our sins the tyrant's disciple was delivered. It had only been Yunus's trireme that had been swept out to sea. The remaining ships, which escaped, took refuge in the harbor of Mitylene. When they inquired about the whereabouts of their naval commander and were told that he had not been seen there, they became anxious.

4. At the end of the day, as evening began to fall, from the direction of Chios the mast of a bireme became distinguishable. This bireme was from Mitylene and had been dispatched by the lord's brother to search for Catalanian privateers coming from the West so that the neighboring Turks could be forewarned and be on guard. From the very beginning the responsibility to deliver this warning was a compulsory servitude im-

posed on the Lesbians. If they failed to give sufficient warning of piratical attack and if the Turks sustained damage, the Lesbians were required to make full restitution to the Turks. The boundaries of their servitude extended from the Pergamon River³⁰³ to the city of Assos which is now called Machramion.³⁰⁴ After the bireme had put into harbor, another sail loomed forth; when they saw the large and scarlet-dyed sails, they apprehended that it was the general and rejoiced. After Yunus put into the harbor, a tent was prepared for him ashore. He disembarked, to rest from the violent tossing and buffeting. The lord's brother, Sir Nicolò Gattilusio, who had prepared a grand reception, came down from the fortress to the tent, and after remaining there a short while, he returned. The disciple of the deceitful wretch angrily laid a snare to catch him, "The bireme, which I have driven here in pursuit, and everything in her, is mine." On board the ship was the most illustrious of the magistrates' wives,³⁰⁵ who carried much gold and silver jewelry on her person. "If you are my lord's friends," he continued, "surrender her to me. If you refuse, I will immediately write about this to the grand emir." The Mitylenaeans replied, "We know not what you mean. The bireme was sent by us to Chios on a special mission. The noblewoman of whom you speak has lived here these many years." She was the lord's mother-in-law, and when she was about to depart, he invited her to live with his mistress, her daughter, and this is the truth. The general did not believe what he was told and wrote what he pleased to the emir.

5. The general then sailed to New Phokaia and summoned the magistrates and the podestà to meet with him. But even before the message was delivered, they came forth to welcome him. The general read aloud the tyrant's written decree to them. It stated that unless the fortress were voluntarily surrendered, every inhabitant would be taken captive and the town would be completely razed. Without discussion or response the town's magistrates capitulated. The Turks entered, confiscated the merchandise of the Genoese merchants, and took the merchants aboard the triremes. After a census of all the citizens was made, and some one hundred boys and girls were abducted, a Turk was installed as keeper of the fortress. The general remained for fifteen days and on the fifteenth day

of November in the year 6964 [1455],³⁰⁶ the triremes departed.

6. When the triremes reached Gallipoli, the general was informed that the ruler was in Constantinople. Mounting his horse and taking along both captives and children, he rode to the City. When the merchants were brought before the ruler and he learned that they were Genoese, he gave orders that they were to be sold, and it was done.

7. On his return to Mitylene the lord of Lesbos was informed of the events by his brother. He was told how the general had demanded the surrender of his mother-in-law as one of the noblewomen of Chios and what followed. He sent me, therefore, to plead his cause. When I arrived in Constantinople, I argued the case before the viziers against Yunus. Although I had spoken the whole truth on oath and Yunus only falsehood on oath, he was vindicated and I was convicted. The ruler offered a choice of two alternatives: to pay the penalty of ten thousand gold coins or to prepare for battle. While I was protesting this great injustice, he issued a decree, unknown to anyone, and dispatching one of his servants, he seized Old Phokaia, which belonged to the lord of Lesbos, on 24 December in the year 6964 [1455]. The tyrant, when informed of the fall of Phokaia, dismissed me and terminated the litigation.

8. Mehmed marched from Constantinople on 24 January [1456] and occupied Ainos. Abducting the boys and girls, he returned to Adrianople. The lord of Ainos³⁰⁷ was sojourning on the island of Samothrace.

XLV

1. With the advent of spring, the tyrant issued orders for a large squadron to be fitted out and sent against Chios. When the Chians learned this, they dispatched ambassadors. After lengthy and trying deliberations, they agreed to pay thirty

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thousand gold coins for the loss of the bireme and the Turks who perished with it and, in addition, an annual tribute of ten thousand gold coins. After peace was made, they quickly departed.

2. Ill-disposed toward their Lord Nicolò,³⁰⁸ the Lemnians secretly sent several magistrates to request that the tyrant send one of his servants to govern the island. The tyrant listened eagerly to their request, and informed the eunuch Ismail, who at that time was the governor of Gallipoli. Yunus had been removed from there and was now governing the province of Caria. Ismail had replaced him as constable and governor of the Chersonese. Mehmed ordered Ismail, therefore, to depart for Lemnos with triremes and to deliver the island to his servant Hamza to govern and administer according to established custom.

3. While these things were taking place, the lord of Lesbos dispatched one bireme and a warship carrying a hundred or so men under the command of Giovanni Fontana and Spineta Colomboto.³⁰⁹ He charged them first to ascertain whether the Lemnians had repented of their actions. If so, they were to be treated graciously and conciliatory words were to be used in an effort to negotiate the island's return to him. If they failed, they were to take his brother Nicolò from his residence at Palaiokastro and return. They did not, however, abide by their instructions. Disembarking with weapons in hand, they gave battle. Some five hundred Lemnians, riding out on horseback, put them to flight. Some were slaughtered and others were chased into the sea where they drowned. The Lemnians with their bare hands took some forty captives. Those who had been left on the bireme and warship withdrew with Nicolò to Lesbos.

4. Three days later Ismail arrived bringing Hamza as the new governor. Apprised of what had occurred, he praised the Lemnians. The Lesbians were taken aboard in chains, and Ismail returned to Gallipoli in May in the year 6964 [1456].

5. When Ismail informed the tyrant of the events in Lemnos, he was filled with rage against Lesbos and its lord. He marched against Belgrade with a huge force and a large number of siege engines. Upon his arrival, he demolished the walls with his cannon. Supported by as many as sixty ships on the river,

the outcome of the battle was so obvious that the Turks were soon pillaging inside the city.³¹⁰

6. János arrived that same day. He crossed the river, entered the city, and routed the Turks. He slaughtered some and wounded others, driving them out of the city. He then sallied forth through the gate with a large contingent of troops, and seized all their war engines. Many Turks were killed—even the tyrant was wounded in the thigh—before János finally returned to the city and put the Turkish ships to the torch. The tyrant, returning to Adrianople in disgrace, threatened to march against Belgrade the following year.

7. These events took place in July of that same year [1456]. In August I was sent to submit the annual tribute on behalf of the lord of Lesbos. After I made the payment, I requested the release of those whom the Lemnians had delivered as traitors. The tyrant, however, did not wish to surrender them. He commanded instead that their heads be cut off because they were incarcerated in Adrianople. But when they were led to the place of slaughter, the tyrant had a change of heart and gave orders that they were to be sold, and they were ransomed for the sum of one thousand gold coins.

8. In the year 6965 [1456] eleven triremes came from Rome under the command of the patriarch of Aquileia. They had been dispatched by Pope Calixtus³¹¹ to aid the islands adjacent to the Turks, such as Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos. They came to Rhodes which was subject to the pope and therefore did not wish to pay tribute to the Turks. Leaving Rhodes they sailed to Chios where they demanded that the islanders refuse to pay tribute to the Turks and fight instead, but the islanders were not persuaded. On Lesbos, they met the same response. Here the papal squadron was joined by Catalanian privateers and other pirate ships; a fleet of some forty ships now sailed from Lesbos to Lemnos. Lemnos was seized before they continued to Samothrace, which they also took and proceeded to Thasos. After the islands were secured by installing garrisons, they returned to Rhodes.³¹² When the tyrant learned of these events, he ascribed the entire blame to the lord of Lesbos against whom he declared a full scale war. He fitted out a huge fleet and dispatched it, in March to Lesbos with Ismail as naval commander. When Ismail arrived

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at Methymna, he employed many stratagems and siege operations, such as mangonels, ladders, and sapping, but he achieved nothing. He returned home, unsuccessful, after losing many of his own men.³¹³

9. In the year 6966 [1458] he sent a servant to the despots of the Peloponnesos with the following frightful ultimatum: "How is it that having voluntarily promised to pay me an annual tribute of ten thousand gold coins, I now see you dealing contemptuously with me by disregarding the treaties. Choose, therefore, the better of two alternatives: either pay your debts and there will be amity between us, or speedily depart, surrendering the land to my despotic rule." They had not paid their tribute for three years running.

10. In that year 'ambassadors were dispatched by Uzun Hasan,³¹⁴ the Turkoman chief who ruled over the regions of Armenia adjacent to Colchis. He demanded certain contemptible items from Mehmed claiming that tribute had been owed him for more than sixty years. These items consisted of an annual gift of one thousand horse blankets, one thousand feedbags, and one thousand turbans which Mehmed's grandfather had agreed to pay his grandfather annually. Mehmed answered, "Go in peace, and next year I will bring these things with me, and I will discharge the debt."

11. That winter the tyrant began to construct a fortress at the far end of the City at the Golden Gate. This was the fortress that old Emperor John wished to build but Bayazid, the tyrant's grandfather, prevented him from doing.³¹⁵

12. With summer already under way he assembled all his forces and quickly marched on the Peloponnesos. He took Corinth without a battle. When the despots learned what had happened, Thomas withdrew to Italy with his wife and children. Demetrios surrendered voluntarily and submitted to the tyrant.³¹⁶ After taking all of the Peloponnesos, the tyrant installed his own administrators and governors. Returning to Adrianople, he took with him Demetrios and his entire household, the palace officials and wealthy nobles from Achaia and Lakedaimonia and the remaining provinces. He slaughtered all the nobles of Albania and then allowed no fortress to remain standing with the exception of Monemvasia, and this grudgingly and against his will. Launching a naval attack against his

enemies, he dispatched some one hundred eighty biremes and triremes to the Aegean Sea by way of the Cyclades islands, but they accomplished nothing. He transferred about two thousand families from the Peloponnesos and resettled them in the City. He also registered the same number of youths among the Janissaries.

13. The tyrant spent the winter between Adrianople and Constantinople, building a huge warship and constructing a theater in the City which is known both as the Vestiopraterion and as its Persian counterpart, the Bezestanion.³¹⁷

14. In the year 6969 [1461] he fitted out a fleet consisting of some two hundred triremes and biremes and ten warships. No one knew or guessed his intent when he crossed the straits in the spring and came to Prusa in Bithynia.³¹⁸

15. I shall relate an incredible episode. The ruler's teacher of the law who, at that time, was the Judge of Judges, emboldened because of his intimacy with the ruler and the latter's reverence for him, ventured, when both men were completely alone, to inquire, "Lord, what is the destination of this great land and sea force which you have marshaled?" Mehmed, scowling, retorted, "Ho there! Be certain that if I knew that one of the hairs of my beard had learned my secret, I would pull it out and consign it to the flames." So secretive and irascible was the man!

16. Although they were already subject to Mehmed, the Vlachs of Lykostomion,³¹⁹ the inhabitants of Kaffa, Trebizond, and Sinope, the islands of the Aegean Sea, Rhodes and her surrounding islets, Chios and Lesbos, were all in a state of abject fear because they knew the fickleness of his nature.

17. The ruler marched out of Bithynia and came to Ankara in Galatia, where he pitched his tents. The ruler of Sinope sent his son ahead with many gifts to greet Mehmed and servilely to make obeisance to him. Mehmed received him warmly and made known to him all that he, as his messenger, was to relate to his father, "Announce to your father that I want Sinope, and if he surrenders this city freely, I will gladly reward him with the province of Philippopolis. But if he refuses, then I will come quickly." The fleet had arrived at Sinope by way of the Black Sea. The son of Ismail, the ruler of Sinope,³²⁰ returned to his father and relayed the tyrant's message. Ap-

prised that the fleet had already reached Sinope, the tyrant marched overland to that city. Not knowing what to do, Ismail issued forth from Sinope, and advancing to meet him, he servilely made obeisance. The tyrant received him warmly and commanded him to take with him all his treasures, horses, mules and camels, and whatever else was stored in his treasuries. He issued orders that no one was to touch any of his possessions. After the affairs of Sinope were put in good order and one of his servants was installed as governor, the tyrant advanced into the interior of Armenia.

18. The aforementioned ruler, Uzun Hasan, was sojourning in the mountains along the borders of Persia with his troops because he did not have the necessary forces to confront the tyrant. Mehmed crossed Armenia and the Phasis river, seizing what lands he could and bypassing those he could not. He ascended the Caucasus mountains with much toil and lack of provisions, and then descended to Colchis.

19. At Trebizond, he delivered an ultimatum to the emperor of Trebizond to choose the better of two courses open to him: either to surrender the empire to the tyrant in which case he would lose nothing from his existing treasures, silver, gold, copper, and whatever else he owned, both male and female slaves, and all other movable property, or to lose his empire and all those goods, and his life as well. When the emperor heard this, he came forth with his entire household and made obeisance. The fleet had reached Trebizond from Sinope many days before, and although it had launched daily attacks, no headway was made until the tyrant arrived overland. The emperor with his wife and children submitted. This was David Komnenos, son of Alexios Komnenos and brother of John Komnenos,³²¹ who reigned before him. Mehmed sent him and his entire family, uncles and nephews, palace officials and nobles, to Constantinople in his triremes. With the exception of immovable properties, each took along his possessions. After the affairs of Trebizond were put in good order, he returned home, having spent an entire year on this expedition.

20. In the year 6970 [1462] Mehmed dispatched an ambassador to the voivode of Vlachia³²² commanding him to come quickly to make obeisance and to bring with him five hundred boys as well as the annual tribute of ten thousand gold

coins. He replied that whereas the gold coins were ready for payment, he was unable to deliver the boys, and moreover, for him to come and make obeisance was completely out of the question. When the tyrant heard this he became wild with rage. He dispatched one of his nobles and one of his secretaries, and told them, "Bring me the tribute, and I myself will give some thought to the rest." When, on their arrival, they disclosed the tyrant's message to the Vlach, he impaled them on stakes, condemning them to an inhuman, excruciating, and ignominious death. The Vlach afterward crossed the Danube with his troops and overran the environs of Dristra. He took captive many of the rabble and transported them to Vlachia, after which he took their lives by meting out the same death by impalement.

21. One of the tyrant's commanders who was stationed along these borders, desiring to display his prowess, crossed into Vlachia with ten thousand Turkish troops. The Vlach engaged them in battle and all those Turks who were not killed but taken alive, he condemned to bitter death by impalement, together with their commander Hamza.

22. The tyrant, apprised of these events, was distraught. Mustering from all quarters a force of more than one hundred and fifty thousand men, he marched out of Adrianople in the spring and came to the Danube. There he pitched his tents and waited until the entire army was assembled. The Vlach, deploying all his troops along mountain defiles and wooded areas, left the plains deserted. Flocks of all kinds of animals were driven into the interior toward the borders of the Alans and Hunns [Poland and Hungary], while he passed the days with his troops in the dense woodlands and forest areas. The tyrant crossed the Danube and, during a march of over seven days, found nothing whatsoever, neither man nor animal nor food nor drink of any kind. He came upon a meadow where he saw countless stakes planted in the ground, laden not with fruit but with corpses, and on a stake in the middle was transfixed Hamza, still wearing his purple and red garments. When the tyrant beheld this terrible portent, he was panic-stricken. Terrified of the night, he raised trench embankments in the area where he had pitched his tents and lay down between the trenches. The Vlach, rising in the half-light of dawn and drawing up his troops in battle array,

descended while it was still dark. He came by chance upon the right side of the camp, and made a sudden charge inside; by morning he had already cut down countless numbers. Until dawn broke, the Turks were killing one another. With the coming of daylight, the Vlachs returned to their bivouacs and bedded down. The tyrant, in disgrace, crossed the Danube and returned to Adrianople.

23. In September in the year 6971 [1462],³²³ Mehmed fitted out a squadron of sixty triremes and biremes and seven warships. Sailing to the island of Lesbos, he disembarked with a large force and demanded the surrender of the island from its lord, Nicolò Gattilusio. He was the brother of Domenico, the former ruler, whom Nicolò had deposed and strangled. This was the fourth year of his rule as lord of Lesbos. Nicolò had carefully provided for the defense of Mitylene. War machines and large supplies of armaments were made ready. Trenches, fossettes, and earthen mounds were dug. Nicolò took cover in the center with a host of more than five thousand troops. The rabble, together with women and children, numbered more than twenty thousand. The tyrant crossing from Hagiasmation, demanded the surrender of both city and island. Nicolò replied, "The city and island cannot be surrendered until these troops are first slain in battle." Crossing back to the Anatolian shore, the tyrant charged Mahmud with carrying out the siege of Mitylene. Drawing up the cannon opposite the city and discharging stone balls³²⁴ against that section of the city called Melanoudion, he brought it crashing to the earth. He did the same to the ramparts and towers in other sections. The citizens within, therefore, seeing³²⁵

NOTES

This code for citations in the notes is for identification purposes only; the complete form is given in the bibliography. Works appearing only five times or less in the notes are cited in full on first mention and identified by author and short title thereafter. For a register of Turkish names and the variant forms used by Greek authors, see Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2d ed. Berlin, 1958. Volume 1: *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*; volume 2: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*. Cited in notes as Moravcsik 1; Moravcsik 2.

- B *Byzantion*
Ba *Balkanica*
BC A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture*
BF D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*
BHAR *Bulletin histoire de l'Academie Roumaine*
BS *Byzantinoslavica*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Ch V. Grumel, *La Chronologie. Traité d'études byzantines*, ed. P. Lemerle, vol. 1
CL A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282–1328*
CMH *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vols. 4, 8
CSHB *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
DGE E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*
DMH S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*
DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

DS	N. Barbaro, <i>Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453</i> . Trans. J. R. Jones
ELO	W. Miller, <i>Essays on the Latin Orient</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
FC	S. Runciman, <i>The Fall of Constantinople 1453</i>
GOTR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
HBS	G. Ostrogorsky, <i>History of the Byzantine State</i> . Trans. J. Hussey. Rev. ed.
LC	D. M. Nicol, <i>The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453</i>
ME	F. Babinger, <i>Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit</i>
MP	J. Barker, <i>Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship</i>
OCF	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OGN	A. E. Vacalopoulos, <i>Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461</i> . Trans. I. Moles, rev. by author
PC	J. Gill, <i>Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays</i>
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia graeca</i>
PT	C. Cahen, <i>Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c.1071-1330</i> . Trans. J. Jones-Williams
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>

1. Although some Byzantine historians and chroniclers used the chronology of 5500 from the foundation of the world to the birth of Christ, the correct one is 5508, which Doukas uses. However, the Byzantine year began on 1 September so that in the late period 1 January to 31 August must be reckoned as 5508 and 1 September to 31 December as 5509. Grumel, Ch.
2. Doukas uses the Greek term *basileus* for emperor. The feminine counterpart is *basilis* and *basilissa*. *Autokrator* and *despot* designate the Byzantine emperor, and *despoina*, *augusta*, and *kratousa* the empress. In Palaiologan times the titles *despot* and *despoina* were also used to designate the subordinate positions of princely governors of the provinces, such as the despotate of Mistra. Slavic princes in the Balkans might also be styled despots. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantine: Le Despote," REB 17 (1959); 52-89. Under the Palaiologi the heir presumptive was designated as the first co-emperor; only he could hold the titles of *basileus* and *autokrator* with the senior emperor. The first co-emperor, as opposed to the past, now exercised important powers. The centrifugal forces of the Empire transformed the centralized monarchy into the joint rule of the imperial house. G. Ostrogorsky, "The Palaeologi," CMH4: 341 and n1.

3. Hagia Sophia, also called St. Sophia, means Holy Wisdom which, in effect, is Christ. See St. Paul, 1 Corinthians 1:24: "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."
4. Constantinople is frequently referred to as "the City" and "the City of Constantine."
5. The Byzantines looked upon their empire as the legitimate continuation of the Roman Empire in the Greek East; its sovereigns were "Emperors of the Romans" and its citizens called themselves Romans until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In modern times the Greek still calls himself a *Romyós*, the demoticized form of *Rhomaïos*, and sings about his *Rhomyiosini*.
6. The principality of Mentеше was established before 1290. By the beginning of the 14th century it included Milas (Miletus) and Mughla and corresponded with ancient Caria in the southwest corner of Asia Minor. Cahen, PT, p. 308. The Mentеше emirs were the first to take to the sea as pirates; they profited greatly by the absence of a Byzantine fleet and even offered work to unemployed Byzantine sailors. When the Knights of St. John appropriated Rhodes for their headquarters, they were able to prevent the emirs of Mentеше from attacking and plundering other islands in the Aegean. Nicol, LC, p. 151. See also P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentеше. Studien zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13. -15. Jh.*, Istanbul Mitteilungen 2 (Istanbul, 1934).
7. Aydinoglu Muhammad Beg (Muhammad ibn Aydin) was a Germiyanid official who founded an independent dynasty in the western riverine regions about Izmir (Smyrna) and Ephesus (Ayasoluk). See Vryonis, DMH, p. 138 and n285 for bibliography. Nothing is known of Muhammad ibn Aydin before 1300. Cahen, PT, p. 309. The emirate of Aydin lay north of Mentеше. In 1304 Ephesus fell to Muhammad ibn Aydin and to forestall him from taking Chios, Benedetto Zaccaria seized the island. After 1308 Muhammad ibn Aydin proclaimed his independence from Germiyan and established his own emirate. The acropolis or upper citadel of Smyrna fell to his warriors about 1317. He fought running battles off the coast against the navies of the Zaccaria family of Chios and the Knights of St. John of Rhodes. Nicol, LC pp. 151-52; P. Lemerle, *L. Emirats d'Aydin. Byzance et l'Occident*, (Paris, 1957).
8. The Turkish principality of Sarúchan was located in northern Lydia. The founder Saruchan was originally an emir of the Germinayids. The independent state and dynasty that he established ruled Magnesia on the Hermos, Menemen, Gordes, Demirdji, Nif, and Turgutlu. Vryonis, DMH, p. 139.
9. The Germiyan were probably Kurdish and Turkish half-breeds who came from east of Malatya. They were installed in western Anatolia about 1275 by the Seljukids to keep watch over the Turkomans on the frontiers. Germiyan, moreover, was the name of the people and not that of the ruling family, Alishir. At the end of the 13th century Yaqub, descended from Alishir, ruled in addition to Kutahiya, the

Germiyan center, Ankara in the East, Tripoli on the Meander, Gümüşşahar, Sivriköy, Simaw, and Kula; in the West, Philadelphia (Alashehir) paid him tribute. His relatives and vassals ruled the most desirable part of ancient Phrygia; Denizli, Aydın (Tralles), and Karahisar (Afyon) paid him tribute and later were incorporated into Germiyan territory. Horses, rice, textile industries, alum and silver mines, and a brisk trade along the Meander contributed to Phrygia's wealth. Cahen, PT, pp. 290, 306, 307.

10. The descendants of the Danishmendids founded the emirate of Karasi at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century in the regions of Adramyttium and Balikesri in Mysia of Asia Minor. Vryonis, DMH, p. 138.
11. Othman was the son of Ertoghrul, a commander of a band of ghazi warriors in the service of the Seljuk sultan. In reward for defeating a Byzantine and Mongol army on the Byzantine frontier of Dorylaion or Eskishehir, Ertoghrul was granted Eskishehir as a fief. When he died in 1288, he left most of his territory to his son Othman ibn Ertoghrul. By 1281, however, Othman had taken command of the Ottoman troops. In 1290 Othman's name was read aloud during the Friday prayer service signaling the beginning of his independence. Ottoman historians also cite the year 1299 or 1300 as the date of Othman's formal investiture with the insignia of sovereignty, drum and banner by Ala ad-Din Kayqubad III, the last of the Rûm Sultans. Taeschner, "The Ottoman Turks to 1453," CMH4: 758; Grumel, Ch, p. 386. Othman advanced into Byzantine Bithynia and defeated the Byzantines at Baphaion near Nikomedia in July 1302. He then took the fortress of Melangeia or Yenishahir, the new city, which lay between Prusa and Nicaea, and thus obstructed the Byzantine overland route to Bithynia. Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos sent the Grand Catalan Company to fight them in 1304. But after 1307 the Ottomans advanced to the Sea of Marmara. Thanks to the Byzantine civil war of 1321 to 1328, the Ottomans were allowed to overrun the region between the Sangarios and the Bosphoros to the Black Sea. On 6 April 1326 Orchan, Othman's son, took Prusa. In May Lopadion fell. Othman was buried in his new capital of Prusa in 1326. Nicol, LC, pp. 153-54.
12. Michael IX was crowned on 21 May 1295, the Feast Day of Saints Constantine and Helen. For the reign of Andronikos II, see Laiou, CL.
13. Umür Beg (1340-1391) was the grandson of Muhammad ibn Aydin, the founder of the dynasty. Under him the dynasty achieved greatness. Cahen, PT, p. 309. Nicol, LC, p. 152, however, calls Umur Beg Aydin's famous son. Umur Beg completed the conquest of Smyrna by taking the lower town and harbor from the Latins in 1329. *Le Destân d' Umür Pacha (Düstûrnâme-i Enveri)*, trans. Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, Bibliothèque Byzantine, Documents 2 (Paris, 1954) is a fascinating account, written in epic verse by the Turkish poet Enveri,

- which describes the heroic deeds of Aydinoglu Muhammad Beg and his son Umur, the "Lion of God," leading a djihad, a just and holy war against the infidel Christians.
14. The band of freebooters called the Navarrese Company came to the Morea (Peloponnesos) and for a while served the Hospital of St John. They eventually recognized Jacques des Baux as their suzerain (1381-1383). The Navarrese Company and Theodore I Palaiologos, despot of Mistra in the Peloponnesos (1383-1407), were in continual conflict. See R.-J. Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce," OCP 22 (1956): 319-60. In 1386 the Navarrese Company took Androusa in Messenia, and Zonklon and ancient Pylos, now called Navarino. Their captain Pedro Bordo de San Superan assumed the title of vicar (1390-1396) and then declared himself prince of Achaia (1396-1402). Setton, "The Latins in Greece and the Aegean from the Fourth Crusade to the End of the Middle Ages," CMB4: 407-8.
 15. Old and New Phokaiia were called Foglia Vecchia and Foglia Nuova by the Genoese.
 16. Murad I (1360-1389) is called both Mourat and Morat by Doukas. He is the first Ottoman to style himself sultan instead of *beg* or *prince*, which was his actual title. *Sultan* was the Muslim title for the secular head of state. The chronicles usually refer to Murad as *hudāvendkār* or *hunkār*, meaning *the ruler*. Taeschner, CMB4: 763, 765. Doukas usually designates the Turkish sultans by the Greek term for ruler, *hegemon*.
 17. It is a characteristic of the Byzantine historians to use the names of ancient tribes and nations to designate peoples of wholly different national or racial origin who have displaced them.
 18. Stefan Uroš, who assumed the title of emperor, reigned over a united Serbia from 1355 to 1371. Prince Lázar ruled over northern Serbia from 1371 to his death at the famous battle of Kosovo (the Field of the Blackbird) on 15 June 1389. Dinić, "The Balkans, 1018-1499," CMB4:550.
 19. Named Milos Kobilić. Ibid.
 20. Bayazid I Yildirim, "the Thunderbolt," so-called because of the uncanny speed with which he traveled when his presence was needed to thwart an enemy. In 1394 the Abbasid Caliph in Cairo conferred on him the title Sultan of Rūm; thus he received official recognition of the title which his father used. Taeschner, CMB4: 765.
 21. By ordering the death of his brother Sawdji, called Saboutzios by Doukas, Bayazid I introduced the cruel practice of fratricide to secure undivided rule in the Ottoman Empire. Taeschner, CMB4: 765.
 22. Doukas uses many variants of the name Muhammad: Mohamed, Mehmet, and Mehemet. The Prophet, however, is always referred to as Muhammad.
 23. Stefan Lazarević, prince of northern Serbia (1389-1402) and despot of Serbia (1402-1427).

24. The Germiyan ruler was Musa (1387-1390).
25. The Turks are usually called Persians but in this instance the Mongol Tatars are meant. Moravcsik 2: 252-54.
26. After the Grand Catalan Company, led by Roger de Flor, had secured Aragon rule over Sicily (Peace of Caltabellotta, 1302), they were employed by Andronikos II; 6,500 Catalans arrived in Constantinople by the end of 1303. The Catalan troops defeated the besieging Turkish army of Philadelphia, but they proved to be a two-edged sword for the Empire, attacking Greeks as well as Turks. See Ostrogorsky, CMH4:347. Laiou, CL, p. 137, states that Roger de Flor and the Grand Catalan Company occupied the peninsula of Gallipoli by a *fait accompli* sometime in late August 1304, or shortly thereafter. The stronghold of Gallipoli was virtually impregnable. Berengar d'Entença visited Roger de Flor in Gallipoli in October 1304 and on 25 December 1304 he received the title of grand duke from Andronikos II. On 10 April 1305 Roger was invested with the title of caesar, third highest in the Byzantine hierarchy. Andronikos II's son and co-emperor, Michael IX, who preferred to fight in the field, was rankled by Roger de Flor's successes. Roger was invited by Andronikos II to set up a feudal state in Anatolia, but Michael IX, it seems, negotiated his assassination in Adrianople on 30 April 1305, thus making reconciliation between Catalans and Byzantines impossible. Back in Gallipoli the Catalans killed all the Greeks located there. On 10 July 1305, at the Battle of Apros, Michael IX was wounded and suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Catalans, allowing the latter to devastate Thrace at will. The success of the Catalans was attributed to the support given the mounted knights by the *Almugavars*, the lightly armed infantry. By 1307 the devastation wrought by the Catalans in the environs of Gallipoli was so great that they were no longer able to live off the land, for they did not engage in agriculture. Laiou, CL, pp. 141-46, 166, 182. In October 1306 Andronikos made the difficult but salutary decision to forbid the peasants of Thrace from cultivating their lands, hoping that famine would force the Catalans to give up their plan of taking Constantinople. In the early summer of 1307 when the Catalans left for Macedonia, they razed the stronghold of Gallipoli, as stated by Doukas. After devastating Thrace, they crossed the Rhodope mountains and settled at Cassandra. The monasteries of Mount Athos suffered their savage attacks, but the Catalans were unable to take Thessaloniki. The atrocities perpetrated by the Catalans on their "terrible march from Gallipoli westward through Thrace and Macedonia in 1307-1308" have never been forgotten by the Greeks. Down into modern times the fearsome oath was heard in Thrace, "May the vengeance of the Catalans overtake you!" To be called a Catalan in Thessaly and Akarnania was a grave insult. In the Peloponnesos the unlovely woman who combined the traits of unruly temper, gluttony, and ugliness was derided as resembling a Catalan. Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388*. The

- Mediaeval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 247. From Cassandra the Catalans went to Thessaly, living off the countryside. They reached central Greece in 1310 and entered the service of Walter of Brienne, the duke of Athens, but they later quarreled with the Franks and defeated them on the Kephissos River in Boeotia, 15 March 1311. The Catalans ruled Athens for some eighty years. Ostrogorsky, CMB4: 347-49. In 1366 Amadeo of Savoy, John V's cousin, seized Gallipoli from the Turks who had held it since 1354. The Turks, who had evidently restored the stronghold of Gallipoli, now razed it once again. Andronikos IV Palaiologos, in revolt against his father John V, seized Gallipoli in 1376 and in September 1376 he once again handed it over to the Turks. Ostrogorsky, HBS, pp. 480, 483n3.
27. As grand domestic and actual ruler during the last years of Andronikos III's reign, John Kantakouzenos assumed the regency on the death of the emperor, 15 June 1341. In Constantinople Kantakouzenos was opposed by Dowager Empress Anna of Savoy, Patriarch John Kalekas, and the man he had promoted in rank and wealth, Alexios Apokavkos (see n31), who stirred up the masses against the wealthy nobility represented by Kantakouzenos. Anna of Savoy and Patriarch John Kalekas proscribed Hesychasm, the mystical devotion of the monastic party. Kantakouzenos allied himself with the Hesychasts whose protagonist Gregory Palamas, opposed by Gregory Akindynos, a devotee of western scholasticism, was thrown into prison. In 1342 in Thessaloniki the Political Zealots party had seized power and expropriated the lands of both the wealthy aristocrats and the churches and monasteries. Ostrogorsky, HBS, pp. 454-66. For a discussion of Palamas, Hesychasm, and related problems, see J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas, Patristica Sorbonensia 3* (Paris, 1959).
 28. To see how times had changed, compare the statement of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959) in which he contends that it is wholly improper for a Byzantine prince or princess to marry a foreigner, particularly a northerner, in *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, 2 vols (Budapest, 1949, London, 1962), 1:104.
 29. Andronikos III was crowned emperor in Hagia Sophia on 2 February 1325; in October 1326 he took for his second wife Giovanna or Anna, the daughter of Count Amadeo V of Savoy. Nicol, LC, p. 166.
 30. Kantakouzenos' office was that of grand domestic, that is, commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The order of succession at this time was emperor, despot, sebastokrator, and caesar. Nicol, LC, pp. 439-40. Andronikos III elevated the grand domestic to fifth in order of precedence.
 31. Alexios Apokavkos was a shameless and resourceful opportunist, an upstart *nouveau riche*, who turned against his benefactor John VI Kantakouzenos to whom he owed his fortune and position. When Alexios Apokavkos in 1341 as grand duke, that is, admiral of the

- fleet, plotted to kidnap John V Palaiologos, John Kantakouzenos pardoned him and gave him another chance. During Kantakouzenos' absence from the capital, Apokavkos, now prefect of the City and virtual dictator, conspired with Patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334-1347) to incite the city mob against the family and supporters of Kantakouzenos. John's mother, his youngest son, and daughter-in-law, wife of his eldest son Matthew, were arrested. Kantakouzenos was ordered to renounce his rank and dismiss his army. Under such coercion John allowed himself to be proclaimed emperor at Didymoteichos on 26 October 1341, the Feast of St. Demetrios. Nicol, BF, pp. 46-47.
32. From the reign of Alexios I Komnenos to 1453 the title of *megas dux*, grand duke, was borne by the high admiral of the Byzantine navy. In the Empire's last years the title was honorary, sometimes granted to foreigners. Ostrogorsky, HBS, pp. 326, 327n1; Nicol, LC, p. 439; see also R. Guiland, "Études de titulature et de prosopographie byzantine. Drongaire [Drungarius] de la Flotte, Grand Drongaire de la flotte, Mégaduc," BZ 44 (1951): 222.
 33. The Pelopides are the descendants of Pelops, son of Tantalos and Dione; Pelops gave his name to the Peloponnesos. The Aiakides are the descendants of Aiakos, the son of Zeus and the mortal Aegina for whom the island is named. Aiakos was the father of Peleus and grandfather of Achilles. Achilles was called Aiakides.
 34. Alexios Apokavkos was murdered on 11 June 1345. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 360. His son, John Apokavkos, the *megas primikerios* or palace master of ceremonies was killed by the Zealots in Thessaloniki the same year that his father was assassinated. Nicol, LC, p. 440.
 35. Doukas says that some two hundred of Kantakouzenos' kinsmen and friends were incarcerated "in the fortress of the Great Palace." All were later slaughtered except six, one of whom was Doukas' grandfather, "who were saved in the underground chamber of the Church of Nea." The Church of Nea (New) was built by Basil I (867-886) as part of the Great Palace complex in the southeast part of Constantinople. It appears, however, that Doukas is actually referring to the dungeon constructed in the precincts of the Palace of Constantine in the Blachernai quarter in the northwest corner of the capital. The two hundred prisoners were massacred by order of Anna of Savoy despite the fact that most of them were innocent of Apokavkos' assassination. Even those who sought refuge in the Church of Nea, as Doukas designates it, were cut down in the sanctuary. This then would be the Church of Nea Moni or the New Monastery. Nicol, LC, pp. 206-7.
 36. Isa Beg was actually the grandson of Muhammad ibn Aydin.
 37. The Byzantine insignia of sovereignty.
 38. John IV Laskaris (1258-1261). Doukas is hostile to the Palaiologan dynasty which came to power by usurpation. Michael VIII Palaiologos blinded the legitimate heir to the throne in a violent overthrow of the House of Laskaris. For the history of the reign of Michael

- VIII, see D.J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (1258-1282) (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
39. Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331-1355) assumed the title "Basileus and Autokrator of Serbia and Romania (Byzantium)" sometime after 25 September 1345 when Serres fell to his forces. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 362. The title kral derives from the common name Carolus (Charlemagne), and just as caesar (tsar) and augustus became titles of sovereignty in the Roman and Byzantine empires, kral also came to denote the rank of sovereign in Hungary and Serbia, according to Doukas.
 40. The Duchy of Naxos was founded by Marco Sanudo (1207-1227) with the blessing of the Republic of Venice to plant Venetian colonies in the Aegean. The duchy consisted of some seventeen of the Cyclades islands with the seat of government on Naxos, "the pearl of the Aegean" and "the flower of the Levant." The duchy included Paros, Kimolos, Melos, Syra, Andros, and Santorini (Thera). "The Duchy of the Dodekannesos" was formally bestowed upon Marco Sanudo by the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Flanders (1206-1216). Miller, ELO, pp. 162-63. The duchy of Naxos survived from 1207 to 1566 when it fell to the Ottomans. Grumel, Ch, p. 408.
 41. Doukas uses the term *friars* to mean the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The grand master, Foulques de Villaret, conquered the island of Rhodes on 15 August 1308. Here the members of the Order became known as the Knights of Rhodes. On 20 December 1522 the Turks captured the island and by 1530 the homeless knights were granted sovereignty over Malta by Charles V of Spain. Grumel, Ch. p. 402.
 42. Umur Pasha of Aydin, who had formerly been of great assistance to Kantakouzenos, lost his fleet in May 1344 to the league of western powers sponsored by Pope Clement VI. The harbor of Smyrna was taken in October 1344 but Umur still held the upper city. In May and June 1345 Umur was in Thrace to ravage Bulgaria. He supported Kantakouzenos and took part in the battle against the adventurer Hajduk Momčilo on 7 July 1345 at Peritheorion. Mōmčilo, who had founded a principality in the Rhodope, was defeated and slain. Umur Pasha accompanied Kantakouzenos to Xanthi and thence to Christoupolis. Umur returned to Smyrna in September 1345. He was killed while assaulting the fortress of Smyrna in May 1348. See P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin. Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris, 1957), pp. 180 f., 218 f., and references; for the chronology, see pp. 202, 217; see also Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 360.
 43. Lyaïos was the champion pagan gladiator of the 4th century who was slain by the Christian youth Nestor through the blessing of the incarcerated St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki. As a result of Nestor's incredible victory, St. Demetrios suffered martyrdom and became the patron saint of Thessaloniki.

44. Doukas is redundant here. The Triballoi and the Serbs are the same.
45. Doukas clearly states that Orchan happily served Anna of Savoy in the civil war against Kantakouzenos. Nicol, LC, p. 208, says that the empress "vainly tried to win the alliance of Orchan." Doukas is confused in his facts. Actually, in the summer of 1346 Anna of Savoy succeeded in securing the military assistance of some 6000 Seljuk Turks from the emirate of Saruchan. They preferred plundering Bulgaria and ravaging Thrace to fighting Kantakouzenos, however. Ostrogorsky, HBS, p. 520. For Kantakouzenos' personal account, see John Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), *Historiae*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., CSHB 2: 502-24.
46. That is, the inhabitants of the northern littoral of the Black Sea and the Caucasus.
47. Until the last century of the Empire's existence *Hellene* and *Hellenic*, as used by Byzantine authors, meant pagan. Elsewhere Doukas uses the word *Graiki* to designate the Greeks of the Greek Orthodox Church.
48. Semele was the beautiful daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia with whom Zeus fell passionately in love. Her child was Dionysos.
49. Theodora, the second daughter of John VI Kantakouzenos and Eirene Asenina, married Orchan, son of Othman, the emir of Bithynia, in the early summer of 1346. Doukas, however, places the marriage in January. Orchan was passionately in love with Theodora, and the wedding took place at Selymbria (Silivri). Despite all attempts to convert her to Islam, she remained faithful to the Orthodox faith. Halil may have been the child of Orchan and Theodora. He died soon after the accession of his half-brother Murad I in 1362. Orchan died in 1362 and Theodora probably returned to Constantinople where she lived with her sister, Empress Helena. She died sometime after 1381. Nicol, BF, pp. 134-35.
50. Charon ferried the souls of the dead across the river Styx. He became the personification of Death.
51. I have translated Doukas' term *mixovarvaroi*, "semi-barbarians" as "half-Turkish and half-Greek," the real meaning of the word. The intermarriage between Turks and Greeks produced a new generation of Anatolians by the 12th century called *mixovarvaroi* who spoke Greek as testified by Anna Komnene (Comnena). See *Anne Comnène Alexiade*, trans. Bernard Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1945), 3: 205, "for there were several *mixovarvaroi* among them [Turks] who spoke Greek"; also p. 207. See also comments by the 12th century Byzantine canonist and patriarch of Antioch, Balsamon, who is shocked because the Orthodox Iberians (Georgians) allowed their Christian daughters to marry Agarenes (Muslims). See G.A. Rhalles and M. Potles, eds., *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1852), 1:272; 2:473. See also comments by Vryonis, DMH, p. 176; Moravcsik 2:5 and nl. Later Doukas describes Temir heaping scorn on Bayazid's troops by calling them "mixovarvaroi Turks."

52. In 1343 Apokavkos persuaded Stefan Dušan to break his treaty with Kantakouzenos and declare war on him. He also attempted to have Kantakouzenos assassinated. By early 1345 troops were sent by the Ottoman emir Orchan and then Kantakouzenos succeeded in taking all the Thracian cities in the direction of the Black Sea. Adrianople surrendered to Kantakouzenos. John was joined at Didymoteichos in the spring of 1345 by Umur, the Seljuk emir of Aydin, and Sulayman, son of Saruchan, the emir of Lydia. On 21 May 1346 Kantakouzenos was crowned emperor in Adrianople by Lazaros, the patriarch of Jerusalem. An assembly of bishops in Adrianople excommunicated Patriarch John Kalekas. Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople through a passage dug under the Golden Gate on the night of 2 February 1347. He agreed to reign with the fifteen-year-old John V Palaiologos as co-emperor and to keep his relationship to John V like that between father and son. Nicol, BF, pp. 60-63.
53. John VI Kantakouzenos was crowned a second time in the Church of the Virgin near the palace of Blachernai on 21 May 1347, the Feast Day of Saints Constantine and Helen, by the patriarch of Constantinople, Isidore I Boukharis (1347-1350). Hagia Sophia was in a state of disrepair; the crown jewels were in pawn to Venice, and those used at the coronation were made of pewter and paste! Kantakouzenos' daughter Helena was married to John V Palaiologos about one week later on 28 or 29 May 1347. Doukas states that she was thirteen years old at this time, but Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, CSHB 2:788, 791, says that Helena was fourteen and John V sixteen years old. See Nicol, BF, p. 136n1. John V crowned his wife himself. Helena was a patroness of arts and letters and was praised for her accomplished literary style. When her husband died on 16 February 1391, Helena became a nun, taking the name of Hypomene (Patience) and living in the convent of Kyra Martha in the capital. She died probably in November 1396. Helena and John V had four sons: Andronikos IV, born 11 April 1348; Manuel II, born 17 June 1350; Theodore, born after 1350; Michael the despot, born after 1351; and one daughter Eirene, born in 1349. For the career of Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina, see Nicol, BF, pp. 135-38.
54. There were two Hexamilia. The Hexamilion referred to here was a fortress in Thracian Chersonese; the other was the fortifications or walls erected at the Isthmus of Corinth by Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425).
55. Can Doukas be confused and mistaken here in his description of the Turkish defeat at the hands of Matthew Asen Kantakouzenos (ca. 1325-1391) and the killing of Sulayman, Orchan's son? Taeschner, CMB4: 761, says only that Orchan died in 1359 and that Sulayman died the previous year. Nicol, BF, p. 118, says that in December 1357 at Epivatari, Matthew forfeited his imperial title and swore allegiance to John V Palaiologos. Until 1361 Matthew seems to have lived privately in Constantinople; he then went to the Peloponnesos

to join his brother Manuel the despot. Nicol, however, makes no mention of Matthew's victory in 1358 over Sulayman and the latter's death in the Thracian Chersonese near the Hexamilion.

56. In a vain attempt to avert further civil strife John VI Kantakouzenos divided the empire between himself, John V Palaiologos, his son-in-law, and Empress Anna of Savoy. John V's appanage included Didymoteichos and a large part of the principality formerly governed by Kantakouzenos' son Matthew. Matthew received instead Adrianople and its environs, which John V besieged in the summer of 1352. Turkish troops rescued Matthew while John V called in the Serbs and Bulgars. Stefan Dušan sent a contingent of 4000 cavalry. Emir Orchan sent his son Sulayman with 10,000 to 12,000 cavalry. The Turks crushed the Serb and Bulgar forces on the Marica river in the winter of 1352.

In 1353 John V failed in an attempt to fight his way into Constantinople and retired to exile in Tenedos. In April 1353 John V was declared deposed and Kantakouzenos' son Matthew was elevated as co-emperor. Nonetheless, Empress Anna and Andronikos, John V's son and Kantakouzenos' grandson, continued to be commemorated in the imperial acclamations. Patriarch Kallistos I (1350-1353; 1355-1363) refused to crown Matthew and excommunicated John VI Kantakouzenos. Kallistos was subsequently deposed and Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354; 1364-1376) was elected patriarch of Constantinople in November 1353. Kallistos joined John V on Tenedos. Matthew Kantakouzenos was finally crowned in February 1354 in the Church of the Virgin in Blachernai. On the stormy night of 21 November 1354 John V Palaiologos left Tenedos and reached Heptaskalon harbor undetected. Nicol, LC, p. 250, considers Doukas' account of the crucial role played by the Genoese buccaneer, Francesco Gattilusio, a "colourful tale," not substantiated by contemporary historians. Doukas' account, however, sounds too plausible to have been invented by him.

On the morning of 22 November 1354 John V entered the capital and his loyal supporters rallied to his cause. Kantakouzenos surrendered on 24 November and a sworn agreement for general amnesty and joint rule was negotiated. John VI Kantakouzenos, who had lost the confidence of the citizens of the capital, abdicated on 4 December 1354 and was tonsured as the monk Ioasaph; his wife Eirene became a nun and changed her name to Eugenia. The fact that Kantakouzenos was the representative of the landed aristocracy and had forged an unholy alliance with the infidel Turks turned popular opinion against him and caused his ruin. For a detailed account of the remarkable career of John VI Kantakouzenos, see Nicol, BF, pp. 250-54.

In many ways the year 1354 was a decisive one for Byzantium. An earthquake devastated the whole coastline of Thrace on 2 March 1354. The destruction of towns, torrential rains and blizzards brought death to many, while others were taken captive by the

Turks. The strategic city of Gallipoli was destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants. Sulayman took immediate advantage of the catastrophe to cross the Hellespont from Pegai and occupy the deserted towns and villages. A Turkish garrison was stationed at Gallipoli. The walls were rebuilt and the city was repopulated. The Turks were now in control of the passage over the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. This was the beginning of the end not only of Byzantine but also of Serb and Bulgar independence. When Dušan died in 1355, his empire collapsed. Bulgaria was fragmented and paralyzed by economic collapse and religious disturbances. With Gallipoli as a base the Turks proceeded to take Didymoteichos (1361), Adrianople (1362), and Philippopolis (1363). The local population were made slaves and transferred to Anatolia, and the Turks came by the thousands to colonize Thrace.

An engagement between John V Palaiologos and Matthew Kantakouzenos in the spring of 1355 led to Matthew's relinquishing his Thracian appanage; in return he replaced his brother Manuel as despot of Mistra. In 1356 with the help of the Turks Matthew moved against Constantinople but he was taken captive by the Serbs, delivered over to John V, and exiled to Lesbos. A conspiracy on his behalf was uncovered in the capital; finally John VI Kantakouzenos persuaded his son to renounce his imperial title officially in December 1357. Nicol, LC, pp. 245-47; 256-57. For the turbulent career of Matthew Asen Kantakouzenos (1325-1391), see Nicol, BF, pp. 108-22.

Doukas is hopelessly confused in the chronology of the events he describes in this passage. John VI Kantakouzenos had abdicated, as we have seen, in December 1354. Much later, in the spring of 1366 John V Palaiologos traveled to Hungary as a suppliant to seek aid against the Turks from King Louis the Great. Pope Urban V had written to Louis on 23 June 1366, insisting on the Latin principle, "first conversion, then assistance." Since John V had failed in Hungary he found his way home barred by the Bulgars. The emperor was rescued, however, by his cousin, Amadeo of Savoy, who not only took Gallipoli from the Turks but also compelled the Bulgars to release John V and to surrender Mesembria and Sozopolis to Byzantium. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 370 and n1.

Amadeo of Savoy convinced John V to travel to Rome to profess his faith in the Latin Church but he did not arrive there until 1369. In October 1369 he solemnly read aloud, in the cathedral of St. Peter, the Latin confession of faith, accepted the *filioque* clause, and recognized the pope as head of all Christians. See Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), p. 62; H.J. Magoulias, "A Study in Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Church Relations on the Island of Cyprus (1196-1360)," *GOTR* 10 (1964): 96-97. However, no political, military, or economic gain resulted from the emperor's conversion in Rome. In dire need for monies John V decided to sell to the Venetians the island of Tenedos for

- 25,000 ducats of which he received 4,000 in advance and 6 transport ships. His son and regent in Constantinople, Andronikos, favoring the Genoese, refused to turn Tenedos over to the Venetians. Unable to pay his debts to Venice and without passage back to Constantinople, John V was a virtual captive in Venice. His son Manuel, governor of Thessaloniki, came to his father's rescue. John V, leaving Manuel behind as security for his agreements, reached the capital on 28 October 1371. Manuel returned to Thessaloniki by the winter of 1371-72. But after two years in the West John V returned home without achieving anything for his beleaguered empire. Since John V visited only Italy between the years 1369 and 1371, Doukas seems to have confused John V's journey with Manuel II's visit to Italy, France, and England (1399-1403). See Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 370-71; John Barker, MP, pp. 6-14.
57. Hodegetria refers to the famous ancient icon of the Mother of God (Theotokos) allegedly painted by St. Luke the Evangelist and styled "the *Leader* of God's people in war." Empress Evdokia, wife of Theodosios II, had brought it from Jerusalem in the 5th century for her sister-in-law, Pulcheria. It was believed to have saved the capital from its enemies many times in the past, and it headed the triumphal processions of Byzantine emperors into the capital. Michael VIII Palaiologos, following his entry into the capital on 15 August 1261, placed the famous icon in the Monastery of Studion. The Venetians, after the fall of the City to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, stole it from Hagia Sophia and placed it in the Monastery of Pantokrator. It had also been kept in the monastery church of the Hodegetria from which the small gate adjacent to it took the same name. John V Palaiologos gained entry to Constantinople in 1354 through the Gate of the Hodegetria when he conquered John VI Kantakouzenos. John V chose to be buried in the Hodegetria monastery probably because of its historical significance in his rise to sole rule. See Van Millingen, BC, pp. 47, 226-27, 303; Barker, MP, pp. 469-70.
58. The monastery of Theotokos Peribleptos in the south-west part of Constantinople was named for the "Mother of God who oversees."
59. John VI Kantakouzenos may have entered the church as monk Ioasaph but he did not sink into the oblivion of monastic contemplation and separation from the world. He remained active both politically and especially ecclesiastically, and was a respected figure in the capital where his advice was frequently sought. He spent much time in Constantinople but made some trips to the Peloponnesos. He was a key if not the key figure in the negotiations for Church Union in 1367. Between 1367 and 1369 Kantakouzenos was in contact with the papal legate Paul, titular patriarch of Constantinople. He acted as emperor in the discussions preparing for an ecumenical council to lead to Union. Pope Urban V (8 November 1367) enlisted his support, and Pope Gregory IX addressed a personal appeal to Kantakouzenos on 28 January 1375 to work for Union. Venetian commissioners in 1376 were instructed to approach Kantakouzenos in an attempt to persuade John V to renew his former treaty with Venice.

- Between 1376 and 1379 Andronikos IV had imprisoned John V and his sons Manuel and Theodore. In June 1379 they escaped, and Andronikos fled to Galata where he took Kantakouzenos, his grandfather, as a hostage. He was about eighty-four years old now but in May 1381 he was allowed to return to Constantinople. Kantakouzeno's son Manuel, despot of the Peloponnesos, died in April 1380. Matthew reluctantly assumed the government. Kantakouzenos convinced John V to send his son Theodore Palaiologos to take over the despotate of the Peloponnesos and he himself set out for Mistra, the capital of the despotate. Here John VI Kantakouzenos died on 15 June 1383. See J. Meyendorff, "Projets de Concile oecumenique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul," *DOP*, no. 14 (1960), pp. 149-77; Barker, *MP*, pp. 38-40n111; Nicol, *BF*, pp.88-95, and n147.
60. The period of a man's life from twenty to twenty-five is called *aph-helikiotes*, that is, the flush of youth. The age of manhood proper, *androa helikia*, begins at twenty-five.
 61. Doukas records here the events of the Revolt of May 1373. Modern historians, following Chalkokondyles, generally agree that the name of Murad's son connected with this conspiracy was Sawdji. Barker, *MP*, p. 20n47; F. Babinger, "Sawdji," *EI4*:192. Although Barker claims that Doukas is confused, he does not appear to be if what he says is carefully read. When describing the Battle of Kossovo on 16 June 1389, he states that Murad's eldest son, Sawdji, was in command of the right wing while his second son, Bayazid, commanded the left wing. When Murad was assassinated, Bayazid seized his brother Sawdji and had his eyes gouged out. Kunduz according to Doukas was Murad's rebellious third son, who was captured by his father in 1373 and blinded. Like Sawdji later, he died of the same cruel punishment. Sawdji, at least according to Doukas, could not be the same individual as Kunduz. Nonetheless, Andronikos IV fled the capital on 6 May 1373 to join his fellow-conspirator. On 25 May Andronikos was defeated in battle near Derkos, some 25 miles from Constantinople. On 30 May Andronikos and his wife surrendered to his father at Anthyros. Murad captured Kunduz on 29 September 1373 at Didymoteichos and fatally blinded him. Andronikos and his young son John were also blinded, but due to the treatment administered by his wife and the Genoese, both victims were spared the horror of losing total vision. After the Rebellion of May 1373, Manuel, despot of Thessaloniki, replaced Andronikos as heir to the Byzantine throne. On 25 September 1373, four days before Murad's rebellious son was taken, Manuel was proclaimed emperor. He was twenty-three years old. See Barker, *MP*, pp. 21-24, and nn47, 51, 53, 54, 57.
 62. The Tower of Anemas which adjoined the imperial palace of Blachernai took its name from Michael Anemas, the chief conspirator in a plot to assassinate Alexios I Komnenos. See *Anne Comnène Alexiade*, 12:72, 75; Barker, *MP*, p. 24n58; p. 28n67, p. 457.
 63. Doukas is confused about the complicated history of the period.

Andronikos and his son John, both of whom had been partially blinded, were incarcerated in the Tower of Anemas with Andronikos' wife Maria, the granddaughter of John Alexander of Bulgaria. In 1376 Andronikos and his family, with help, escaped to Galata and the Genoese. Control of the island of Tenedos became the bone of contention between the Venetians and Genoese, and on its outcome the issue of who was to be emperor of Constantinople depended. In the summer of 1376 John V renewed his treaty with Venice (1370-1371) which included the cession of Tenedos. The Genoese retaliated against their inveterate enemies by championing the cause of Andronikos. Andronikos now contacted Murad, promised subservience and tribute, and asked for troops to enable him to take the capital. Murad was only too happy to comply for he wanted more internal dissension in Byzantium. Andronikos was able to surround Constantinople with Genoese help on 10 or 11 July, and on 12 August 1376 he entered the City through the Gate of Pegé. John V was besieged in the fortress by the Golden Gate and finally capitulated. He and his two sons, Manuel and Theodore, were imprisoned in the Tower of Anemas where they remained until 1379.

Although Andronikos was now in full control of the capital, he was not crowned until 18 October 1377, having installed his own candidate, Makarios, as patriarch of Constantinople (1376-1379; 1390-1391). On 23 August 1376 Andronikos ceded Tenedos to his supporters, the Genoese. But it was the Venetians who occupied the island in October 1376. Andronikos was also required by the Ottomans to cede Gallipoli as payment for their support, possibly in October 1376, and by the end of the winter of 1377 the Turks had occupied the fortress.

In 1379 (June?) John V and his two sons, Manuel and Theodore, escaped to Skutari from whence they made their way to Murad who, to suit his own interests, now decided to support their cause against Andronikos. But the subservience of Byzantium to the Ottomans was complete. Large tribute, annual military service with the Turkish emir, perhaps the cession of the city of Philadelphia, the last Byzantine foothold in Anatolia, were promised.

With the blessing of Murad and the promised assistance of the Venetians, Manuel and his father John V entered Constantinople on 1 July 1379 through the Charisios Gate. Andronikos fled to Galata; with the staunch defense put up by the Genoese, he managed to hold out until 4 May 1381 when an agreement was confirmed by the patriarchal synod. The Byzantine Empire was divided into the following separate entities: (1) John V ruled in Constantinople; (2) Theodore I, John V's third son, ruled the despotate of Mistra; (3) Andronikos IV, dependent on the sultan, was given an appanage consisting of Selymbria, Heraklea, Rhaedestos, and Panidos on the Sea of Marmara; (4) Manuel resumed his rule as despot of Thessaloniki in the autumn of 1382, since Andronikos IV, now thirty-three years old, was recognized as the legitimate heir to the Byzantine

throne. Manuel ruled as an independent sovereign, overtly hostile to the Turks in defiance of his father's subservience to them. His successes against the Turks at Serres in 1382, a naval victory and a combined land and sea victory, only demolished his father's detente with Murad. John V had to condemn his son's activities which were soon reversed by Turkish victories.

In the spring of 1385 Andronikos moved to seize the fortress near Melitias; his father led his forces against him and Andronikos was defeated, withdrawing to Selymbria. Thirty-seven years old at this time the embittered Andronikos fell ill and died in Selymbria on Wednesday 28 June 1385. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 372-73; Barker, MP, pp. 23-50, nn 53, 54, 57, 62, 70, 73, 76, 89, 116, 122.

64. Doukas violates the myth of Zeus' kingship to make the parallel. Zeus did not imprison his two brothers, Pluto and Poseidon, in Tartarus.
65. From 1204 to 1225 Lesbos was ruled by the Latin emperors of Constantinople; from 1225 to 1333 it was governed by Byzantine emperors; from 1333 to 1336, Domenico Cattaneo was lord; from 1336 to 1355 Lesbos was again Byzantine; from 1355 to 1462 Lesbos was ruled by the Gattilusio family. For the chronology of the lords of Lesbos, see Grumel, Ch, p. 411.
66. The demarchs were the leaders of the demes, the hippodrome factions which exercised political influence. After the demes lost their political significance by the 9th century, the demarchs became low-ranking officers playing purely ceremonial roles at court, such as acclaiming the emperor. Ostrogorsky, HBS, p. 251. Doukas is obviously making a distinction between the aristocracy and the commoners of Byzantine society.
67. John V Palaiologos died at the age of sixty on Thursday 16 February 1391. He had presided over a Byzantine state which slipped from a major power at his accession to a wretched and diminished fragment on the brink of dissolution. For an evaluation of his long reign, see Barker, MP, pp. 82-83.
68. Manuel entered the capital on 8 March 1391. He had won the race against his nephew, John VII, the son of Andronikos IV. Manuel II Palaiologos was forty-one years old. Barker, MP, p. 83.
69. Doukas' claim that the Turks captured Thessaloniki in the early 1390s is not generally accepted by modern historians. It is known that the Turks took Thessaloniki on 9 April 1387, when the city submitted without bloodshed. It has also been suggested that 1394 as well as 1391 is the date for the recapture of Thessaloniki by Bayazid. Neither date, however, can be substantiated with any certainty. Nicol, LC, p. 337; G.T. Dennis, "The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonica 1391, 1394 or 1430," BZ 57 (1964): 53-61; A. Vacalopoulos, "Zur Frage des zweiten Einnahme Thessalonikis durch die Türken 1391-1394," BZ 61 (1968): 285-90; Ostrogorsky, HBS, p. 546; Barker, MP, pp. 450-53. Both Dennis and Vacalopoulos agree that Thessaloniki was not taken by the Greeks in 1391 or 1394

and recaptured by the Turks. Barker is inclined to accept the possibility of its recapture in the spring of 1394. Whereas Dennis thinks that in 1394 Bayazid subjected Thessaloniki to more direct and severe Turkish control, Barker believes that a revolt on the part of the Thessalonians cannot be ruled out. Both Loenertz and Ostrogorsky accept 12 April 1394 for the date of its recapture by the Turks. See R.-J. Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydones, Remarques sur leur Correspondances: Deuxième série," EO 36 (1937): 482-83; Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 375; Taeschner, CMH4: 764, 766. Doukas, however, appears to be entirely consistent if we ascribe the Turkish conquests to the years 1394-1395. Evrenos Beg overran the Peloponnesos in 1395 and Turachan took Tripoli in 1395 (see below). Doukas gives added weight to the contention of Loenertz and Ostrogorsky.

70. Evrenos Beg, a *ghazi* general under Murad II, governed lands in western Thrace and Macedonia as beg of the Frontier. His son led expeditions into Albania and Greece, penetrating into the Peloponnesos. In 1393 Evrenos Beg led the invasion of Thessaly. Nicol, LC, p. 316. By 1364-1365, however, Evrenos Beg took Komotina (Gumuljina) and then moved into Macedonia. Serres fell to the Turks in 1383, Veroia (1385-1386), Bitola (Turkish Monastir) (1382-1383), Christoupolis (1387), Kitros (1386), and in 1387 Thessaloniki voluntarily capitulated after four years of siege. The Peloponnesos was overrun successively in 1380 (?), 1387, 1388, and 1395. Athens capitulated in 1397 and was temporarily occupied. The armies of Evrenos Beg ravaged the Peloponnesos in 1400. In June 1422 Bürak Beg, Evrenos' son, surrounded Thessaloniki. Evrenos, whose properties extended from the fertile Macedonian plains to the foothills of Mount Vermion, was buried in Yeniçe Vardar (Genitsa). Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 77-78, 146, 163, 166.
71. In 1395 Trikkala, capital of a Greco-Serbian principality, fell and became the headquarters of Turachan Beg, the first pasha of Thessaly. Nicol, LC, p. 316. Turachan Beg had appropriated extensive properties in Thessaly and worked to achieve economic stability in his province in both urban and rural centers. He was a great public benefactor endowing Trikkala, Yenisehir (Larissa), Chatalja (Pharsala), and many villages with poorhouses, bridges, baths, bazaars, schools, mosques, monasteries, and seminaries. He introduced the art of dyeing and developed the existing silk, cotton, and woolen industries of Thessaly. He may also have introduced yellow berries, madder, and the kali plant for the manufacture of potash.

In 1452 Turachan Beg invaded the Peloponnesos as far as the Gulf of Messenia bringing despair to Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos. They chose to remain tributaries of the sultan. Turachan Beg had made successive invasions of Thessaly and the Peloponnesos during 1423, 1431, 1446, and 1452, bringing widespread devastation and slaughter in his wake. Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 165, 167, 207.

72. This siege probably began in the spring or summer of 1394 and lasted approximately eight years (1402). Barker, MP, pp. 479-81.
73. Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404); King Charles VI (1380-1422) of France; and King Sigismund (1387-1437) of Hungary, who later became Holy Roman Emperor (1410-1437).
74. Jean, comte de Nevers. Doukas refers to him below as "Duke of Flanders and Burgundy," but he became duke of Burgundy only after the Nikopolis Crusade and his subsequent release from Turkish captivity. Barker, MP, p. 164.
75. The Dog Star or Hound of Orion whose heliacal rising heralded the sultry weather of summer, whence "dog days." Sirius is in the constellation of Canis Major, the Great Dog.
76. That is, the Holy Roman Emperor.
77. The term designates the government or court of the Ottoman state.
78. Some 100,000 western troops participated in the Nikopolis Crusade. On Monday 25 September 1396 the Christian army was crushed. King Sigismund and Philibert de Naillac, grand master-elect of the Hospitalers, escaped. See Barker, MP, pp. 129-33 and n20 for bibliography. See esp. A.S.Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (London, 1938), pp. 435-62; and his *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934), pp. 50-97.
79. Andronikos IV Palaiologos died on Wednesday 28 June 1385 at the age of thirty-seven. See Barker, MP, p. 52 and n142.
80. Doukas has confused the usurpation of John VII between April and September 1390; at that time John V was still emperor, with the regency bestowed upon him when Emperor Manuel II journeyed to the West to solicit military aid (1399-1403). After the death of Andronikos IV, his son John VII received the continued support of the Genoese. He may have traveled to Genoa sometime before his revolt in 1390. John VII continued to receive military assistance from Murad's successor, Bayazid, who chose to pose as defender of the youth's imperial claims. John VII took up positions outside the Land Walls sometime during Holy Week, 1390. On 31 March Manuel arrived from Lemnos to assist his aged father. On 2 April some fifty conspirators were seized and mutilated. On 13 April John VII's supporters opened the Charisios Gate to him. John V and Manuel took refuge in the fortress of the Golden Gate as they had done in 1376. On the morning of 14 April 1390 John VII was acclaimed by the populace as emperor. The incumbent Patriarch Antonios IV (1389-1390; 1391-1397) was deposed and the former Patriarch Makarios was restored on 30 July. Manuel escaped and returned to the capital with a small fleet and the assistance of the Knights of St. John on Rhodes. On 17 September 1390 John VII was taken by surprise and driven out of the capital. Both Manuel II and John VII were fighting for Bayazid in the fall of 1390. Barker, MP, pp. 68-80. See also, G. Kolias, "The Revolt of John VII Palaiologos against John V Palaiologos (1390)" (in Greek), *Hellenika* 12 (1962): 34-64.

81. Romans 12:9; Isaiah 26:20.1. The *nomisma* was the Byzantine gold coin which retained its stability for eight centuries and was the international monetary exchange. There were 72 *nomismata* to a gold pound. After the 11th century it became debased, and by the 14th century the *hyperpyron*, as the *nomisma* was then called, was worth only half of its original value.
82. The journey of Manuel II Palaiologos to the West began toward the end of 1399. He could not undertake his proposed trip to seek aid from European rulers until he had first come to terms with his nephew, John VII Palaiologos, the son of Andronikos IV and Eugenia, daughter of Francesco II Gattilusio. At this time John VII was in Selymbria. On 4 December 1399 he arrived in the capital and an agreement with Manuel was reached. John VII would rule in Constantinople while Manuel II was in the West; upon the emperor's return John VII would be given Thessaloniki, although it was in the hands of the Turks at that time. Barker, MP, p. 165; on the matter of reconciliation between uncle and nephew, see pp. 490-93.

The emperor had decided that only by great effort of personal diplomacy could the necessary military support be elicited from European nations to save Byzantium from the Turks. On 10 December 1399 Manuel sailed aboard a Venetian galley for the Peloponnesos. He left his wife, Helena Dragaš, and two sons, John VIII and Theodore, in the care of his brother Theodore, the despot of Mistra. From Methone (Modon) Manuel II sailed for Venice, arriving sometime in April 1400. He then traveled to Padua and Milan by way of Vicenza and Pavia. In Milan he was welcomed by Gian Galeazzo Visconti and met his old Greek friend, the great Byzantine humanist Manuel Chrysoloras.

On 3 June 1400 King Charles VI of France met Manuel with great pomp at Charenton outside Paris. The emperor was housed in the old Louvre in Paris and entertained royally. The French king soon began to show signs of insanity. On 13 December 1400 Manuel was in Canterbury, England, and on 21 December he was triumphantly received in London by Henry IV who had recently ascended the English throne. Less than two months after his arrival, sometime in mid-February 1401, Manuel left England and reached Paris at the end of that month.

It became painfully clear that the projected expedition against the Turks would not take place. Neither the English, the French, the Spanish, nor the Italians were able to fulfill their promises of aid. The news of Temir's defeat and capture of Bayazid at the Battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402 seemed to convince Manuel that he must return home after a departure much delayed in the dogged hope that the West would respond to his desperate military needs, but he still was in no great hurry. He left Paris on 21 November 1402 and on 22 January 1403 reached Genoa. Failing in his attempt to reconcile Genoa and Venice, which he felt was necessary if full advantage was to be taken of the Turkish defeat at Temir's hands, Manuel left

- Genoa on 10 February 1403. He may have proceeded to Florence and Ferrara. Manuel arrived at Venice soon after 21 March 1403 and left in early April. In a few days he reached Methone to rejoin his wife and children. Four Venetian galleys in May transported Manuel and his retinue to Gallipoli where John VII awaited him and together they entered Constantinople on 9 June 1403. Manuel's journey had lasted more than three and a half years. Manuel, evidently furious over John VII's pro-Turkish policies, banished his nephew to the island of Lemnos and broke his pledge to give him Thessaloniki as an appanage. For a detailed analysis of these events, see Barker, MP, pp. 167-99, 222-38, 240-41. See also Donald M. Nicol, "A Byzantine Emperor in England: Manuel II's Visit to London in 1400-1401," in *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World. Collected Studies*. Variorum Reprints (London 1972), pp. 204-25, esp. pp. 204-5n1 for a complete bibliography on the subject. For original article, see *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12. 2 (1971).
83. Temir-khan is the Tatar khan Timurlenk, known also as Tamerlane (ca. 1336-1405), whose vast empire stretched from the borders of China and the Bay of Bengal to the Mediterranean Sea.
 84. Temir supported the cause of the Seljuqid emirates in Anatolia against the advance of the Ottoman Turks.
 85. Sebastea, later called Sivas, was captured by Bayazid I in 1397 thus giving the Ottomans control of northeastern Anatolia, ruled until then by the Ilkhan dynasty of the Persian Mongol Empire. Taeschner, CMH4: 754.
 86. The Turko-Persians are the Turkish tribes of northeast Anatolia in the area of Trebizond, Armenia, and north Iran. Moravcsik, 2:327.
 87. Arsyngan or Erzindjan is a town on the upper Euphrates west of Erzurum (Theodosiopolis). Tahartan, the emir of Erzindjan, to save himself from Bayazid, became the vassal of Temir. In 1399 Bayazid offended Temir when he demanded tribute from Tahartan. Bayazid's son, Sulayman, was ordered to defend Sivas, but the city fell to Temir in 1400. Nicol, LC, p. 327.
 88. These are anachronisms for the peoples along the north and east littorals of the Black Sea. The Tauro-Scythians are the Tatars; the Zykhoi (Zichi) are a tribe on the northeast coast of the Black Sea; and the Abasgoi are the inhabitants of the medieval kingdom of Abasgia, which extended with western Georgia along the Black Sea coast south of the Zykhoi.
 89. This is Cimmerian Bosphoros known as the Crimean straits or the Kerch Strait.
 90. When his father, Lazar, was killed at the battle of Kossovo in 1389 Stefan Lazarević (1389-1427) became Bayazid's vassal and had to supply the Turkish ruler with an auxiliary army under his command. He was compelled to fight on the side of the Turks against Vlachia in 1395 (Battle of Rovine), against the Nikopolis Crusade of 1396, and against Temir in 1402. Dinić, CMH4: 551. Stefan's sister Oliviera

- was married to Bayazid. Nicol, LC, p. 301. His biography, an important source for the history of Byzantium in the first thirty years of the 15th century and at the same time a very important work of old Serbian literature, was written by Konstantin the Philosopher, who was active in the circle of Patriarch Euthymios of Trnovo. See *Život Stefana Lazarevića Despota Srpskoga*, ed. V. Jagić, in *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva*, 42 (1875): 223-328 (text, pp. 244-328); abridged text in German, ed. M. Braun, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarevićs* (The Hague, 1956). When Stefan returned home from the disaster at Ankara, he was given the title of despot by Emperor John VII. He became a vassal of Sigismund, king of Hungary, and made Belgrade his capital. For his military service on behalf of Sigismund he received extensive estates in Hungary. Dinić, CMH4: 551.
91. The battle was fought on 28 July 1402 on the plain of Cibuq Abad to the northeast of Ankara.
 92. Besides *Lampadias*, that is, the Illuminator, the comet was also called *Xyphias*, meaning dagger from its shape. See *Zonaras, Epitome historiarum*, ed. T. Buttner-Wobst, CSHB3: 195.
 93. The Seljuq vassals of Bayazid I; in other words, all defected.
 94. The reference is to Aesop's fable of the plucked jackdaw.
 95. Psalm 22:16 and 12.
 96. *Yeni çeri*, "the new troops." Orchan (1326-1360) organized the *yaya*, which was the recruitment of an infantry force that later formed the basis of the Janissary corps. Orchan also introduced the white felt cap with a flap hanging down at the back as a distinctive headgear for the Janissaries. See XXIII 9. Murad I (1360-1389) reinforced the infantry with prisoners of war, one-fifth of whom, according to Islamic law (*ghanimat*), belonged to the sultan as his personal property. This is the first stage in the transformation of the *yeni çeri* into a slave army. In the reign of Murad II (1421-1451) the *deushirme*, the practice of youth tribute, became accepted (ca. 1438), although its origins are in the Seljuq gulams of the late 11th century, when converted slaves were employed in the armies, bureaucracy, and courts of the Anatolian Muslim states. Regularly boys between ten and fifteen years old were selected from Christian families in the Balkans and converted to Islam. Once they had assimilated Muslim teaching and the Turkish language and culture a brilliant career awaited them as Janissaries, and the highest offices of the Empire were open to them. Thus Christian converts to Islam serving the Sublime Porte as generals, admirals, statesmen, even as grand viziers, gradually ousted the older Ottoman nobility from political life. The Janissaries, moreover, represented the only organized component of the Turkish army. Taeschner, CMH4: 760, 764, 772; Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 74, 125, 151-52; Vryonis, DMH, pp. 240-44.
 97. A play on words between the game of chess and the high stakes of reality. Checkmate derives from the Arabic *shāh māt* meaning that

- the king is perplexed or dead. Bayazid had been utterly defeated and as he stood at the tent's entrance awaiting the pleasure of his conqueror Temir, the latter's son exclaimed, "šahruch!" Bayazid, in other words, had been checkmated.
98. Sulayman I whom Doukas calls Musulman (1403-1411), Isa (d. 1405), Mehmed I (1413-1421), and Musa (1411-1413). In the ensuing civil wars Sulayman was defeated by Musa in 1411, and Musa was overpowered by Mehmed in 1413. Grumel, Ch, p. 386.
 99. The chief magistrate governing a Venetian colony in Byzantium; *podestà* was the governor of a Genoese colony.
 100. Lord of Lesbos and Mitylene was Francesco's son Jacopo (1401-1427), but the regent and governor of the island from 1401 to 1409 was Nicolo I Gattilusio, Francesco's brother. Grumel, Ch, p. 411.
 101. On 9 March 1403. Nicol, LC, p. 329. For the Battle of Ankara, see Marie-Mathilde Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La Campagne de Timur en Anatolie* (Bucharest, 1942); H.A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I, 1300-1403* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 249-57.
 102. By Sacred Mouth (the entrance or mouth of Hieros) is meant: (a) egress into the Black Sea on the Thracian side of the Bosphoros; (b) Hieros, a customs post for Constantinople on the Asiatic coast leading from the Black Sea into the Bosphoros; (c) all of Thrace along the Bosphoros. See V. Grecu, "La signification de *Hieron Stomion*," BS 15 (Prague, 1954): 209-13.
 103. Sometime in January or February 1403 a treaty was negotiated between Sulayman and a Latin league representing Venice, the Genoese of Chios, the duke of Naxos, the Hospitalers of Rhodes, Stefan Lazarević of Serbia and John VII Palaiologos. Manuel II, who at this time was on his way to Venice, had no knowledge of the incredibly favorable terms offered Byzantium. Besides the concessions listed reliably by Doukas, Sulayman further agreed to restore the islands of Skopelos, Skyathos, and Skyros, Chalkidike including Mount Athos; to abolish all tribute paid by the Byzantines; to release all Greek prisoners; and to seek permission before his ships would enter the straits through the Dardanelles or the Bosphoros. Doukas states that he had also agreed to become the emperor's vassal. Barker, MP, pp. 224-25; Nicol, LC, p. 335. For the Italian text of the treaty and an English summary, see G.T. Dennis, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," OCP 33 (1967): 72-88.
 104. Manuel II, after his return to the capital on 9 June 1403 from his prolonged stay in the West, banished his nephew John VII to Lemnos for his pro-Turkish policies. John VII, instead, sailed to Lesbos to seek aid for his projected attack against Thessaloniki from his father-in-law, Francesco II Gattilusio. Before November 1403 Manuel and John had reconciled and Demetrios Laskaris Leontaros conducted John VII to Thessaloniki as "Emperor of all Thessaly" (1403-1408). John VII died in September 1408, but he had first been tonsured a monk and took the name of Ioasaph, as his great-

grandfather, John VI Kantakouzenos, had done before him. Barker, MP, pp. 242-44, 278.

105. Actually, the emirate of Aydin was divided between Umur II and Musa, the son of Isa Beg, in 1402. Grumel, Ch, p. 385.
106. Monteshe Ilyas Beg (1402-1421). Grumel, Ch, p. 385.
107. Juneid (d. 1425), son of Ibrahim Bahadur, whom Doukas calls Karasoupasis or Qara-subaşi, took Smyrna in 1403. See Grumel, Ch, p. 385.
108. The text reads that the Karaman oğlu had 30,000 troops; this is clearly a mistake because Sulayman's army was more numerous. During the disturbances of the last two decades of the 13th century a Turkoman captain by the name of Muhammad ibn Karaman ibn Nura Sufi established control along the boundary of Lykaonia and Cilicia around Germanicopolis (Ermenek). Karaman was later taken and became the capital of the Karamans. Ikonion fell to them in the 1320s. In the 14th century, having extended their rule into western Anatolia, the Karaman oğlu was the head of a great power which rivaled the expanding power of the Ottomans; it was inevitable that they would come into conflict. Taeschner, CMH4: 750, 753.
109. Isfendiyar (1402-1439) was the prince of Kastamuni (Byzantine *Kastra Komnenon* and the modern *Kastamonu*), the Turkish capital of the kingdom of Jandar in Paphlagonia on the Black Sea coast. Taeschner, CMH4: 756, 769.
110. Vlachia is the region of southern Rumania between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube. Although Rumanian historians claim that the Rumanians are descendants of Roman settlers and ancient Dacians, latinized during Roman imperial times, it is most likely that they originated south of the Danube. Displaced by the Slavs in the latter part of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., the romanized population of the Balkans sought refuge in the mountains and survived as herdsmen or shepherds known as *Vlachs*. There were large numbers of Vlachs in both Thessaly and Epirus which became known as Great Vlachia and Upper Vlachia, respectively. Others crossed the Danube and settled south of the Carpathians and by 1330 a Hungarian vassal by the name of Basaraba, a voivode in title, defeated King Charles Robert in 1330, thus assuring the existence of an independent Vlachia. A second Vlach victory was inflicted on the Hungarians in 1369.

Moldavia, established as a Hungarian province on the eastern slope of the Carpathians by King Louis the Great, won its independence in 1365 under Voivode Bogdan.

In 1359 the patriarch of Constantinople, Kallistos I, at the request of Voivode Nicholas Alexander, appointed a metropolitan for Vlachia with his seat at Argeş. In 1401 a metropolitan was appointed for Suceava, the capital of Moldavia. Interestingly enough, Slavonic, not Rumanian, was the official language of State and Church.

Theoretically, the voivode was an absolute ruler. Supreme commander of the army and chief justice, he minted coins bearing his

- likeness and used tax revenues; he also endowed the nobility and Church with lands. The nobility, however, in assembly, designated his successor. As there was no established line of succession, pretenders and their supporters created conflicts compounded usually by outside intervention. In effect, the voivode's authority was greatly diminished and the State suffered. Dinić, CMH4: 560-62.
111. Mircea the Old, voivode of Vlachia (1386-1418), called Myltzes by Doukas. He was supported by Hungary and seems to have won a victory over the Ottomans on the plain of Rovine on 17 May 1395, but nevertheless he submitted to the sultan and agreed to pay tribute. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 376.
 112. One of the twelve Genoese partners of the Giustiniani *maona* or trading company of Chios in the last quarter of the 14th century was Lucchino Negro; perhaps Salagruzo was a relative. Miller, ELO, p. 304.
 113. With the assistance of Voivode Mircea of Vlachia and Despot Stefan Lazarević of Serbia, Musa defeated Sulayman's Beglerbeg of Rumelia on 13 February 1410. Sulayman in turn inflicted two defeats on Musa, the first on 15 June 1410 at Kosmidion, and the second at Adrianople on 11 July 1410. Sulayman subsequently lost the support of his followers and was killed on 17 February 1411. Both Barker, MP, p. 284, and Nicol, LC, p. 341, state that Musa had him strangled. I find Doukas's version more compelling.
 114. The text reads "brother."
 115. The Nicholas Notaras who, in the spring of 1398, had been sent on an embassy to Charles VI of France with Marshal de Boucicault. Nicol, BF, p. 166n6.
 116. The Byzantine term *mesazon* is used in general to describe the highest officials of the Byzantine government in the Palaiologan period. Doukas correctly equates the Byzantine office of *mesazon* with that of the Turkish vizier. When the Byzantine office is meant, I translate *mesazon* as *chief minister*; when the Turkish is meant, as *vizier*. Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 181, translates *mesazontes* as chancellors. The *mesazon* then, a descriptive title rather than a rank, was head of the imperial chancery and the passport office, and functioned as an intermediary between the emperor and his subjects. See Laiou, CL, p. 148; J. Verpeaux, "Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: *the mesazon*," BS 16 (1955): 270-96; R.-J. Leonertz, "Le chancelier impérial à Byzance," OCP 26 (1960): 275-300; Nicol, LC, p. 440; and Nicol, BF, p. 193, who cites Loukas Notaras as the colleague of Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos in the office of *Mesazon* sometime before the death of John VIII in 1448.
 117. Mehmed I defeated Musa at Jamurlu in Serbia July 1413. He reigned from July 1413 to 26 May 1421. Taeschner, CMH4: 768.
 118. Stefan Lazarević, despot of Serbia; Mircea the old, voivode of Vlachia; Carlo I de Tocco Buondelmonti Acciajuoli (1413?-1429) or Maurice Mpona Spata Gouras (1408-1413?), despot of Ioannina;

Theodore II (1407-1429), son of Manuel II Palaiologos, despot of Mistra or Lakedaimonia; and Centurione Zaccaria (1404-1429), the Latin prince of Achaia. Bulgaria, however, by 1396 had already fallen to the Ottomans.

119. John VIII married Anna, the daughter of Vasili I Dimitriević, grand prince of Moscow and Vladimir. She was betrothed to John in 1411, married in 1414, and died of the plague in August 1417. Barker, MP, p. 345 and nn 85, 86, and p. 347. Nicol, LC, p. 346, gives the date as 1418.
120. Barker, MP, pp. 253-54n88, has not understood Doukas in this instance. Doukas says that Bayazid's first son and daughter Fatma, who had been sent to Manuel as hostages, were both later released. A second son, however, seems to have stayed on at the imperial court and became a Christian before he died, evidently of the plague. His name was probably Yusuf and when he was baptized he took the Christian name of Demetrios. See Moravcsik, 2:118, 141, 144.
121. "The seal of the Spirit," in the Greek Orthodox church, means the sacrament of Chrismation or Confirmation which immediately follows baptism.
122. The famous Monastery of Studion, named for St. John the Baptist and Forerunner (Prodrornos), was founded in the 5th century (A.D. 463) by the Roman patrician Studius in southwest Constantinople. According to Doukas the death of the converted Turkish prince took place in 1417. Van Milligen, BC, p. 36.
123. To improve relations with the Latin church Manuel II sent for two Catholic princesses to marry his sons John and Theodore. Theodore, despot of the Morea, was married to Cleope Malatesta, the daughter of the count of Rimini. Barker, MP, p. 605, gives the date as 1420. John VIII married Sophia of Montferrat in Hagia Sophia on 19 January 1421. At the same time he was crowned co-emperor. Doukas dates the two marriages at the same time. Theodore II was acclaimed despot of the Morea (Lakedaimonia) and given the insignia of office. Thus Theodore was sent to the Morea in 1408 as despot, in 1416 he was given sole rule, and in 1421 he was officially invested in Constantinople (see n126). Barker, MP, pp. 348-49; Nicol, LC, p. 346.
124. Sophia may not have returned to Italy until after Manuel's death in August 1426. Barker, MP, p. 349n96.
125. Maria Kantakouzene Komnene, daughter of Alexios IV Komnenos of Trebizond (1412-1429) and Theodora Kantakouzene, became the third wife of John VIII Palaiologos in September 1427. She was strikingly beautiful and gave John VIII the happiness that had escaped him in his previous two marriages. Maria died on 17 December 1439 just before her husband returned from the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Her body was buried in the Monastery of Saint Savior Pantokrator where Emperor Manuel I Komnenos had also been buried in a splendid sarcophagus. Beside his tomb was the famous porphyry slab on which the body of Christ was laid after its

deposition from the Cross. See Nicol, *BE*, p. 171; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, p. 222.

126. Doukas may have confused the events of 1408 and 1415-1416. In 1408 Manuel made a brief visit to the Peloponnesos at which time he assigned a regent for his young son Theodore II, despot of the Morea. See Barker, *MP*, pp. 275-76 and nn 132, 133; p. 312n21. However, we might justify Doukas' assertion by assuming that since Theodore was only thirteen years old in 1408, he was too young to govern. By 1416 Theodore was twenty-one years old, and this may be when Manuel decided that his son should assume full responsibility for the government of his despotate.

Manuel's visit to the Morea on 29 March 1415 resulted in the restoration of Justinian's decayed Hexamilion wall across the Isthmus of Corinth. The work was begun on 8 April and completed in twenty-five days. The term *Hexamilion* means that the wall was six miles long. Other sources give the length of the walls as over four miles with some 153 towers. For a thorough discussion of the Hexamilion wall, see Barker, *MP*, pp. 311-16.

In 1415 Centurione Zaccaria, the last Latin prince of Achaia, recognized Manuel's suzerainty. Manuel's son and heir, John VIII, arrived in the Peloponnesos to assist his brother, Theodore II, in the government of the despotate. Barker, *MP*, p. 346. It was under John's command, in fact, that the Byzantine troops defeated Centurione Zaccaria and the Navarrese of Achaia; only the intervention of the Venetians postponed the final collapse of the principality. Ostrogorsky, *CMH4*: 379.

127. Grand Master of the Hospitalers of St. John was Philibert de Naillac (1396-1421). Grumel, *Ch*, p. 402.
128. The son of the last Bulgar ruler, John III Šišman (1371-1393) whose father was John Alexander (1331-1371?). Tamara, John Šišman's sister, was delivered into Murad I's harem. Dinić, *CMH4*: 545. The Turks took Trnovo on 17 July 1393, bringing to an end the Bulgar state. John Šišman was executed in 1395 in Nikopolis. Nicol, *LC*, p. 314.
129. This was Jacopo I Crispo (1397-1418). See Grumel, *Ch*, p. 408.
130. The naval encounter took place in May 1416. See Nicol, *LC*, p. 344.
131. Vryonis, *DMH*, pp. 358-59, observes that the religious fervor of the Turkish *ghazi* was further strengthened by the dervish brotherhoods and as a result the Turks were more interested in converting Christians to Islam than were the Arabs earlier. In their desire to convert Christians, Muslim leaders such as Bürklüdje Mustafa and his contemporary Badr al-Din unleashed a great socio-religious rising in western Anatolia in 1416. They went so far as to claim that Islam and Christianity were equals. A strong syncretism equating the two religions made conversion more easily achieved. The fact that converts to Islam would be spared the payment of onerous taxes, rewarded with administrative positions and land grants as well as the pleasures of polygamy and concubinage surely appealed to many.

See also H.I. Cotsonis, "Aus der Endzeit von Byzanz: Burkludsche Mustafa, ein Martyrer für die Koexistenz zwischen Islam und Christentum," BZ 50 (1957): 397-404. See also Moravcsik, 2:251.

132. Peace between Mehmed I and the Karaman oğlu was made in 1414. Taeschner, CMH4: 768.
133. Some scholars accept the claim that Mustafa was a pretender. He was supported by Mircea, voivode of Vlachia. Defeated by Mehmed, however, Mustafa and Juneid sought refuge in Thessaloniki in 1416. Barker, MP, pp. 340-42, refers to Mustafa as Bayazid's eldest son whereas Doukas states that he was the youngest. Doukas, moreover, asserts that Mustafa was a true son of Bayazid (XXVII, last line). See Moravcsik, 2:199-200.
134. Demetrios Laskaris Leontarios (Leontaris) was regent for the third son of Manuel II, Andronikos, who had been installed as despot of Thessaloniki in 1408 when he was eight years old. Barker, MP, p. 342.
135. The Monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos (the All-Blessed Mother of God) overlooked the Golden Horn from the heights of the Fifth Hill, not far from the Imperial Palace of Blachernai. For its history, see Van Milligen, BC, pp. 138-60.
136. The revolt of Mustafa, his refuge in Thessaloniki with Juneid, and the subsequent agreement between Manuel II and Mehmed I took place in A.D. 1416. Barker, MP, p. 342n82.
137. A play on the words *theologos* (one who speaks the word of God) and *thollogos* (one who speaks turbid or muddled words). For a description of Theologos Korax, see Barker, MP, p. 360n108; p. 363n111.
138. Taeschner, CMH4: 769, states, but without citing his source, that Mehmed I died of apoplexy on 4 May 1421 at Gallipoli. Runciman, FC, p. 44, mistakenly states that Mehmed I died in Adrianople in December 1421. The date of the sultan's death was certainly May 1421 because the inscription on his tomb in Prusa so states. The 15th century Thessalonian account book gives the date as 21 May 1421, citing dysentery and epilepsy as the causes of death. S. Kougeas, "Notizbuch eines Beamter der Metropolis im Thessalonike aus dem Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts," BZ 23 (1914-1919):151-52n80; see also Barker, MP, pp. 354-55 and n101.
139. *Atropo*, one of the three Fates, was so-called because she was inflexible; she carried "the abhorred shears" and caused death by cutting the thread of life. *Clotho*, the Spinner, spun the thread of life, and *Lachesis*, the Disposer of Lots, assigned to each man his destiny.
140. Kara-Yüyük 'Uthman, a descendant of the White Sheep tribe (Ak-koyunlu), was the Turkoman prince of western Persia from the end of the 14th century to 1425. See Grumel, Ch, p. 385. Moravcsik, 2:150, gives his dates as 1378-1435. It was, however, Ali Beg, khan of the Akkoyunlu (1435-1438), who married a daughter of Alexios IV Komnenos of Trebizond. He was also the father of the famous

Uzun Hasan. Nicol, BF, pp. 169-70 and n21.

141. The Greek term is *monochiton*, "a single-tunic-wearer;" Doukas uses it to describe the dervishes.
142. Matthew 25:21, 23.
143. The reference is to Kerberos, the three-headed dog with mane and tail of snakes, standing guard at the gate of Hades and tamed by Herakles for one of his twelve labors.
144. Lachanas means "he who subsists on bread and wild greens alone." G. Pachymeres, *De Michaelae et Andronico Palaeologis libri XIII*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 1:430. See also Moravcsik, 2:177.
145. Unclear in the text.
146. The Turkish word *aqin*, which Doukas correctly translates as "attack" or "raid," is related to *aqindji* (*akintzides*) which is translated as either "plunderers," "raiders" or "mounted heralds."
147. In former times, Hellas, the eastern part of central Greece, was a theme or province. In Attica, Antonio I Acciajuoli, the duke of Athens (1403-1435), ruled both Thebes and Athens. The Latin principality of Achaia and the Peloponnesos was governed by the Navarrese Centurione Zaccaria. Zaccaria lost his principality in 1430 to the despots of Morea and died in 1432. Setton, CMH4: 408. Grumel, Ch, p. 406, gives from 1404 to 1429 as the years of Centurione Zaccaria's rule as prince of Achaia. In 1429 Centurione gave his remaining territories to his daughter Catherine for her dowry when she married Thomas Palaiologos. Nicol, LC, p. 364.
148. The law of *ghanimat*, granting the sultans the right to claim one-fifth of the spoils of warfare. Vryonis, CMH4: 241 and n592.
149. The text reads "one one-hundred times one"; I take this to mean 100².
150. The *Vasmouloi* or *Gasmouloi* were the mixed offspring of Byzantine or Greek women and Italian or Latin men. Pachymeres, CSHB1: 309.
151. A reference to Aesop's fable of the wolf and the crane.
152. The Byzantine office of *Drungarius* was equivalent to that of vice admiral of the fleet.
153. In 1275 Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos granted the Genoese Benedetto and Manuele Zaccaria (1275-1288) the alum mines of Old Phokaia which were situated to the north of the Gulf of Smyrna and west of the alum mountains. New Phokaia was built later at the foot of the mountain on the seashore because of Turkish encroachment, as cited by Doukas. See Pachymeres, CSHB1: 420; Laiou, CL, p. 152n83; R.S. Lopez, *Genova marinara nel duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria ammiraglio e mercante* (Messina and Milan, 1933); Charles Singer, *The Earliest Chemical Industry. An Essay in the Historical Relations of Economics and Technology Illustrated from the Alum Trade* (London, 1948); M.-L. Heers, "Les Génois et le commerce de l'alum à fin du Moyen-Age," RHES 32 (1954); 31-53; Miller, ELO pp. 283-96.

When Benedetto Zaccaria died in 1307, his son Nicolino discharged his cousin Ticino, who for five years had been in charge of Phokaia

- but was found suspect in the keeping of his accounts. Seeking refuge with the Catalans in Gallipoli, Ticino persuaded his hosts to pillage Phokaia and the Greeks working the alum mines (26 March 1307, Easter Sunday). The Zaccaria held Phokaia, however, until 1314. Laiou, CL, p. 153.
154. Andriolo Cattaneo della Volta was made governor of Phokaia in 1307 and lord in 1314. His son Domenico, not Jacopo, succeeded him (1331-1340). Miller, ELO, p. 296.
 155. The silver coin called a *lepton* here is also known as *aspron* and *argyron*; there were thirty silver coins to a gold *nomisma*.
 156. The crossing was made in Genoese ships on 20 January 1422. See Barker, MP, p. 359 and n106.
 157. Juneid confesses now to having murdered his son-in-law Umur II and his brother Musa, the son of Isa Beg!
 158. The date of the embassy of Lachanas Palaiologos and Markos Iagaris was 8 June 1422. See Barker, MP, p. 360n108.
 159. Murad's siege of Constantinople began officially on 20 June and ended on 6 September 1422. The major assault took place on 24 August and was thrown back—because, some were convinced, of the divine aid given by the Mother of God, the capital's defender. See Barker, MP, pp. 360-66. See esp. the eyewitness account of John Kananos (Cananus) in CSHB, pp. 457-79. Kananos (p. 479) says that over a thousand Turks were wounded or killed while some thirty Byzantines were killed and less than one hundred were wounded. Primitive bombards were also used.
 160. Doukas confuses Manuel's death with his paralytic stroke nearly three years earlier on Thursday 1 October 1422. The seventy-five year old emperor died on 21 July 1425, the date given by Sphrantzes, CSHB p. 121. See Barker, MP, p. 383n161, for a discussion of other dates for the death of Manuel II.
 161. Doukas again calls John VIII Palaiologos the last Byzantine emperor. His brother, Constantine XI (XII) Dragases Palaiologos, despot of Mistra, was crowned in the cathedral of Mistra by the local metropolitan on 6 January 1449, the Feast of the Epiphany (Theophaneia). The coronation was not performed in Constantinople by Patriarch Gregory III Mammas (1443-1450); consequently, Doukas regarded the coronation as not having taken place. Thus, John VIII Palaiologos was the last legitimate emperor in Doukas's eyes. Barker does not seem to understand Doukas's insistence on a coronation in the capital by the patriarch of Constantinople in Hagia Sophia as a requirement for legitimacy. Barker, MP, p. 367n119.
 162. Manuel II contrived a conspiracy with Ilyas, the guardian of the young Mustafa, Murad's surviving brother. Mustafa arrived in Constantinople on 30 September 1422, one day before Manuel suffered his paralytic stroke. Mustafa was later betrayed by Ilyas and put to death by strangling in 1423. Barker, MP, pp. 366-69. Chalkokondyles, CSHB, p. 233, states that Mustafa was thirteen year old.

163. Doukas' chronology is loose here. Mustafa the pretender and Mustafa of Aydin, who was put to death by Juneid, both died in 1422; Manuel II died in 1425, while Mehmed I's son Mustafa was executed 20 Jan. 1423. S. Kougeas, "Notizbuch eines Beamter," BZ 23:154.
164. N. Kantakouzenos Stravometes was the governor of Zetouni (Lamia) in central Greece in 1425. His daughter is said to have been the third wife of Manuel II's fifth son, Demetrios Palaiologos. See Nicol, BF, p. 167 and n13.
165. In 1204 Boniface, marquis of Montferrat and king of Thessalonica (1204-1207), bestowed the town of Bodonitza (Mendenitza), commanding the pass at Thermopylae, upon Marquis Guido Pallavicini. The latter's descendants continued to rule here until 1334. See Setton, CMH4: 389; Grumel, Ch, p. 410.
166. This humiliating treaty was negotiated by John VIII in 1424 when Emperor Manuel II was still alive but suffering from a paralytic stroke. Taeschner, CMH4: 769.
167. For information on Loukas Notaras, see n259.
168. Lazar was Stefan Lazarević (1402-1427); the lord of Mitylene (Lesbos) was Jacopo Gattilusio (1401-1427); the *maona* of Giustiniani governed Chios; and the grand master of Rhodes was the Catalan Antoine Fluvian (de la Rivière) (1421-1437). See Grumel, Ch, pp. 402, 411.
169. Epilepsy. Other sources state that Andronikos suffered from elephantiasis or leprosy. Barker, MP, p. 372n128.
170. The ill twenty-three year old despot of Thessaloniki, Andronikos (1408-1423), was unable to defend Thessaloniki from the vigorous siege of the Turks and so it was decided that the city be ceded to the Venetians. The extraordinary offer was accepted on 27 July 1423. On 14 September 1423 the Venetians took control of the second city of the Byzantine Empire. The assertion that Andronikos sold his claims to Thessaloniki to the Venetians for the sum of 50,000 gold coins seems to be spurious. He died in Constantinople on 4 March 1428. Sphrantzes, CSHB, p. 134, states that Andronikos died in the Pantokrator monastery as the monk Akakios. Chalkokondyles (ed. Darkó, 1:193; CSHB, p. 206), however, gives Mantinea in the Peloponnesos as the place of his death. Barker, MP, pp. 372-74 n132.
171. See n69.
172. Thessaloniki fell on 29 March 1430. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 380.
173. This was in 1444. Taeschner, CMH4: 771.
174. Stefan Lazarević died on 19 July 1427 and was succeeded by George (Duradj) Vuković Branković first as the *messire* (1427-1429) and then as despot of Serbia (1429-1456). Branković married Eirene Kantakouzene (ca. 1400-1457), a sister of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, on 26 December 1414. Of his five children, three boys and two girls, four were possibly the children of George and Eirene while Mara was the daughter of a former wife. In 1435 he

- gave his daughter Mara (see n175) in marriage to Murad II; in 1446 his youngest son Lazar married a daughter of Thomas, despot of the Morea, and her grandfather John VIII granted him the rank of despot. George Branković died on 24 December 1456 and Eirene, who had suffered the grief of having her two sons blinded by Murad II in 1441, died on 2-3 May 1457. Dinić, CMH4: 553; Nicol, BF, pp. 184-88; Nicol, LC, pp. 383-84.
175. Mara or Maria Branković was the daughter of George Branković's first marriage to a sister of John IV, emperor of Trebizond. She was married to Murad II on 4 September 1435. When Murad died in 1451 it was suggested that she marry Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, but she refused for she had taken a vow of chastity when Mehmed II allowed her to return home. In March 1459 the sultan gave her full possession of the monastery of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki. She died in the monastery of the Theotokos Eikosi-phoinissa at Kosinica near Drama. Nicol, BF, pp. 210-13.
176. Smederovo (Semendria), the mighty fortress built by George Branković on the Danube in 1430, was medieval Serbia's last capital. Murad II took it after a three month siege on 18 August 1439. Dinić, CMH4: 553; Nicol, BF, p. 185. In 1444 Smederovo was restored to Branković.
177. Ladislav or Vladislav III, the young Jagellon, was king of Poland and kral of Hungary (1440-1444).
178. *Megas Domestikos* was the Byzantine title for commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This was János Corvinus Hunyadi who is believed by some scholars to have been the bastard son of Sigismund, emperor of Germany. Bálint Hóman, however, calls him the eldest son of Vajk, a knight in the Court of Sigismund, and a Magyar woman. Vajk was created a Hungarian noble and received the castle of Hunyad in Transylvania. In 1439 King Albert placed János at the head of the banate of Szörény (Severin) on the Danube in Vlachia. Under Vladislav III of Poland and Hungary he was appointed voivode of Transylvania and made commander-in-chief of the armies fighting the Turks. After Vladislav III's death at Varna in 1444, Hunyadi was elected acting regent and governor of Hungary during the minority and absence of Ladislav V Posthumus, Albert's son (see n212). Hunyadi was practically king and even after Ladislav V Posthumus assumed royal power in 1453, he retained his power and authority as viceroy and captain-general. His son, Matthew Corvinus Hunyadi, did in fact become king of Hungary (1458-1490). Bálint Hóman, "Hungary, 1301-1490," CMH8: 608-9.
179. John VIII sent George Philanthropinos to Serbia to invest George Branković with the insignia of the office of despot of Serbia in 1429. Doukas places this event in 1435, the same year as Mara's marriage to Murad II when Branković was already despot. Nicol, BF, pp. 184-85n28.
180. Murad II concluded a treaty favorable to himself with Isfendiyar, prince of Kastamuni, in 1423 and married his daughter. Isfendiyar at

the same time ceded to Murad II an area rich in mineral deposits. Taeschner, CMH4: 769.

181. Gregory was the name of George Branković's eldest son. It is uncertain whether he was a son of George and a former wife or of Eirene Kantakouzene. Gregory and his brother Stefan were blinded by Murad II at Amaseia in Asia Minor on 8 May 1441. Thus it was the youngest son Lazar who succeeded his father who died in December 1456. Lazar persecuted his mother and Gregory, and when Eirene died in 1457 Gregory fled to the court of Sultan Mehmed II. He died as the monk Germanos in the monastery of Chilandari on Mount Athos on 16-17 October 1459. His son Vuk Branković was despot in Hungary under Matthew Corvinus and died on 16 April 1485. Nicol, BF, pp. 213-15.

Thomas Kantakouzenos was the brother of Eirene Kantakouzene, wife of George Branković. He entered the service of Branković in 1414 after his sister's marriage to the despot. When his sister died in 1457, he fled to the sultan at Adrianople with his niece Mara and nephew Gregory. He died on 25 July 1463. Nicol, BF, pp. 182-84.
182. Novo Brdo (Novus Mons or Novomonte) in Serbia which had important mines producing *glama* or silver containing a certain percentage of gold. Novo Brdo fell to the Turks in June 1441. Dinić, CMH4: 532, 553. Professional miners from the silver mines at Novo Brdo were used by Zaganos Pasha to mine various parts of the walls of Constantinople in the final siege of 1453. See Runciman, FC, p. 118.
183. This was the German king, Sigismund, son of Charles IV, who was also king of Hungary (1387-1437) and Holy Roman Emperor (1411-1437). When Stefan Lazarević died on 19 July 1427, his nephew and successor George Branković swore an oath of fidelity to King Sigismund and handed Belgrade over to him. Dinić, CMH4: 553.
184. Murad II's unsuccessful six months' siege of Belgrade took place in 1440. Dinić, CMH4: 553. For a discussion of Doukas' references to gunpowder and cannons, see J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge, Eng., 1960), pp. 124-27.
185. John VIII, determined to achieve Union with Rome in the name of his subjects and the Greek Church, set out for Italy in November 1437, accompanied by Patriarch Joseph II (1416-1439), dignitaries, and his brother Demetrios. The Byzantine delegation reached Ferrara where the negotiations were scheduled to take place early in 1438. Because of the plague in that city the meetings were moved to Florence. The opposition to Union was centered in the person of Markos Evgenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus, a hesychast. The emperor's brother Demetrios and the great humanist George Gemistos Plethon left Florence in protest to the Union. In the cathedral of Florence, Bessarion, the Greek archbishop of Nicaea, and Cardinal Guliano Cesarini, representing their respective churches, proclaimed the Act of Union on 6 July 1439. Rome had won, but the Greeks kept the rites of the Greek Church, thus setting the

pattern for the Uniate Churches. Nothing however was gained by the beleaguered empire. The emperor had blundered! His own people were divided. The Muscovites deemed the Union to be a betrayal of the faith. The grand prince of Moscow, Vasili II, deposed Isidore, the Greek metropolitan of Russia, who had participated in the Council of Union and subscribed to it. The Unionists ended up by becoming Roman Catholics. See Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 381-82.

186. For the role played by Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) in the Council of Ferrara-Florence, see Gill, PC, pp. 35-44.
187. The lacunae are in the original text. One Latin source gives the number of Greeks as 650. Among them were twenty-five archbishops and bishops, abbots, monks and laymen. See Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge Univ Press, 1961), p. 103. A *chronicon breve* of Methone states that there were thirty Greek hierarchs, including Patriarch Joseph. Gill, p. 89n2, gives the names of the chief ones. Both Gill, PC, p. 4, and Nicol, LC, p. 373, give the total number of Greeks present as about 700.
188. For a detailed study of the council, see Gill, *The Council of Florence*.
189. Markos Evgenikos adamantly refused to subscribe to the Act of Union of 1439. When he returned to Byzantium, the Greek Orthodox populace looked upon him as a hero. Gill, PC, pp. 55-64.
190. Cardinal Guliano Cesarini was later to instigate the crusade which led to the disaster at Varna on 10 November 1444; he lost his life in the same battle as Vladislav III. Gill, PC, pp. 95-103.
191. That is, classical Greek or pre-Christian Greek learning.
192. A former student of George Gemistos Plethon, George Bessarion came originally from the Greek empire of Trebizond. He became archbishop of Nicaea and finally a cardinal of the Roman Church. He was an eminent scholar and great humanist, and the Italian Renaissance benefited greatly from his work. His library became the nucleus of the *Bibliotheca Marciana* in Venice. See Gill, PC, pp. 45-54.
193. Isidore, abbot of the monastery of St. Demetrios in Constantinople, was promoted to the See of Kiev and all Russia in 1436. When Isidore, following the Council of Florence at which he subscribed to the Act of Union, returned to Moscow in 1441 as apostolic legate, he was immediately deposed and arrested by Grand Duke Vasili II for having betrayed the faith. He later became a cardinal of the Roman Church. Henceforth, the metropolitan of Russia was a Russian. See Nicol, LC, pp. 371, 378; Gill, PC, pp. 65-78.
194. Michael Balsamon, the Great *Chartophylax*, was chosen as one of the six orators to represent the Greek Church at the Council of Florence. He signed the decree of union but only under duress "cowed by threats of the imperial displeasure," and finally resigned his office in protest. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, pp. 130, 250, 291. Michael Balsamon was probably descended from the family of the great 12th-century canonist, Theodore Balsamon, who served consecutively as a deacon of Hagia Sophia, *Nomophylax* ("Guardian of the

Laws") and *Chartophylax*; he was elected patriarch of Antioch sometime between 1185 and 1191 at the age of eighty. He never left Constantinople, however, and died before 1195. See Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 657.

195. The famous Greek humanist, George Gemistos Plethon of Mistra. He saw the salvation of the Greek nation in the rebirth of Hellenism and based the constitution for his utopia on Plato's *Republic*. He was invited to Florence by Cosimo de Medici to revive the study of Platonism in Italy at the newly founded Platonic Academy. Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 126-35; Nicol, LC, pp. 360-64.
196. George Gennadios Scholarios (ca. 1403-1472), the first patriarch of Constantinople after the Fall (1453-1456; 1462-1463; 1464-1465), was to regret his participation in the Council of Union. He was politically active in the reign of John VIII having served as general judge, first secretary, and official preacher at court. In the academic arena he doggedly opposed the pagan doctrines of the Platonist George Gemistos Plethon, championing Aristotelian philosophy. In 1444-1445 he published his *Defence on Aristotle*. Scholarios wanted the cultural heritage of Byzantium to be expanded to include the advances made by western scholasticism, particularly the Thomist achievement which had reconciled Aristotle and Christian revelation. See C.J. Turner, "The Career of George-Gennadius Scholarius," B 39: 430-31. For Scholarios' role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, see Gill, PC, pp. 79-94.

Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos reformed the Byzantine judiciary in 1329 by setting up a supreme court of four men, two ecclesiastics and two laymen, known as the General Justices of the Romans. They constituted a supreme court and their verdicts were deemed final and irrevocable. Although they proved corruptible, the institution continued to exist to 1453. Later, local chief justices were appointed for the Morea, Thessaloniki, and Lemnos. See Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 352-53; P. Lemerle, "Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III," *Mémorial L. Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), pp. 292-316.

197. John Argyropoulos, a Unionist, moved to Italy and became one of the initiators of Greek philological studies. He had been teacher of grammar in Constantinople and taught Greek in Padua. In 1456 Cosimo de Medici appointed him professor of Ancient Greek at the University of Florence. He was invited to Rome by Pope Sixtus IV where he died on 26 June 1487 in straitened circumstances. Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 245-47.
198. The Latin addition of the *filioque* clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed was at issue. As originally composed by the Church Fathers who sat in the First and Second Ecumenical Councils, the Creed states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. In the 6th century in Spain, however, theological controversy between Spanish Catholics and Arian Visigoths was intense. To defend the

Orthodox position that Christ was consubstantial with the Father as against the Arian position that he was a deified creature, that is, not of the same essence as the Father and, therefore, inferior and subordinate, the Catholics inserted the *filioque* formula into the Creed so that it read: "the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Lifegiver, Who proceeds from Father and *from the Son (filioque)*...." When The Arian Visigoths were finally converted to Orthodox Catholic Christianity under their king Reccared in 589 at the Council of Toledo, the *filioque* was retained in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. From Spain the *filioque* passed to the Carolingian court at Aix-la-Chapelle, where it found an eager advocate in Charlemagne whose intention was to discredit the Byzantine emperors. The Council of Frankfurt in 794 officially adopted the *filioque* but without papal sanction. Thanks, however, to Charlemagne's prestige the *filioque* was gradually adopted in Germany, Lorraine, and parts of France during the 9th century. By the early 11th century when the German Henry II was crowned emperor in Rome (1009), the Creed was read with the *filioque* addition.

The immediate cause for the eruption of the *filioque* controversy between the two major sees of Christianity—Rome and Constantinople—was the prize of the Slavic peoples, whose conversion was now fiercely contested by both centers. Patriarch Photios (858–867; 877–886) composed learned treatises condemning the *filioque* addition as heresy. The Byzantine view was that the unwarranted *filioque* clause upset the delicate balance of the Holy Trinity. Christ himself, it was argued, expressed the proper relationship of the Three Persons of the Godhead. "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me" (John 15:26). Thus the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and is sent temporally, that is, in time, into the world by the Son. God the Father begets his Son eternally, but the Holy Spirit *proceeds* eternally from the Father. God the Father is neither begotten nor proceeds from any of the other Persons. The Greek view of the Holy Trinity was that of an isosceles triangle, with God the Father at the summit. The Western position not only seemed to be unscriptural but by creating two principles from which the Holy Spirit was said to proceed—Father and Son—the triangle of the Trinity was improperly inverted. Not only the orthodoxy of this new doctrine but the whole structure of Church government and the proper source of dogma were also at stake! In Byzantine theology the only inspired doctrinal authority was the Ecumenical Council where the Holy Spirit preserved the Fathers from error and guided them surely to the truth. The Fathers moreover had expressly forbidden any addition or subtraction from the Creed. The Latin Church's insertion of the *filioque* clause was an overt act of defiance against the authority and inspiration of the Church Fathers sitting in ecumenical councils. A succeeding ecumenical conclave might amplify the decisions

reached by a previous council but it was unthinkable that it should alter those decisions. To tamper unilaterally with the Creed was an act of heresy. The classical Latin response was that the *filioque* clause was only an amplification of doctrine, not an alteration or addition. At the Council of Florence the Greeks finally accepted this view and agreed with the compromise formula which stated that the Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father through the Son."

199. Fifteen Greek prelates (later increased to eighteen) voted for the *filioque* and Union while five voted against. The lay theologians, George Scholarios and Amiroutzes, concurred with the majority. Only Isaias of Stavropolis, who had departed from Florence, and Markos Evgenikos of Ephesus refused to sign the Decree of Union. It was signed on 5 July 1439 and promulgated on the next day. Not all the Greek prelates, however, repented of their acceptance of Union. We know the names of eight who remained Unionists after their return to Constantinople on 1 February 1440: Bessarion, Isidore, Dorotheos of Mitylene, and the bishops of Kyzikos, Lakedaimon, Rhodes, Moldo-Vlachia, and Monemvasia. Gill, PC, p. 262.
200. A reference to the hymn chanted in the Greek Church and composed by Emperor Justinian I in an attempt to appease the Monophysites. See Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883), 1: 216.
201. Joseph II, patriarch of Constantinople (1416-1439), was born ca. 1360 in Bulgaria, perhaps the illegitimate son of the future Bulgar tsar Šišman and a Greek mother. He became patriarch of Constantinople on 21 May 1416 after serving as metropolitan of Ephesus. Thus he was almost eighty years old when he died. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, p. 268. The date given for the death of Patriarch Joseph II is 10 June 1439. On the next day he was entombed in the Dominican church of Sta. Maria Novella south of the sacristy.
202. Doukas ignores the fact that Demetrios accompanied his brother, Emperor John VIII, to Florence. There certainly is no reason why Demetrios' wife should be called empress *basilissa* as she is in the text. In fact, Demetrios was not made despot of the Morea until after the death of John VIII. On his accession in 1449 Constantine XI appointed his two brothers, Demetrios and Thomas, joint despots of the Morea (1449-1460). Thomas governed the northwestern section of the despotate with Achaia and the towns of Patras and Glarentza; Demetrios governed the remaining parts from Mistra. Demetrios is known to have married twice. His first wife was Zoe, the daughter of Grand Duke Paraspondylos; his second wife was Theodora, the daughter of Paul Asen. Demetrios and Theodora had one daughter Helena who, although taken into the sultan's harem after the Fall, maintained her virginity. She died in Adrianople, leaving her possessions to the patriarchate. See Nicol, LC, p. 391 and the genealogical table; Nicol, BF, p. 167n13; Runciman, FC, p. 182.
203. *Frankia* here is Italy. To become a Frank is to be converted to Roman Catholicism. This expression is used in Greece today.

204. Actually, John VIII remained faithful to the Union of Ferrara-Florence and consequently when he died, he was refused the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church. Gill, PC, p. 123.
205. A very tangible difference between Latin and Greek Christianity was the use in Holy Communion of unleavened wafers (*azyma*) by the Latins and leavened bread (*enzyma*) by the Greeks. The term *Azy-mite* was tantamount to betrayal of the faith of Greek Orthodox Christianity and conversion to Roman Catholicism.
206. For the opposite view that, in fact, "the Greek prelates joyfully, freely, and honestly admitted Latin orthodoxy," see Gill, PC, pp. 254-63, 118-23.
207. Psalm 78:21.
208. *Protostrator* is the Byzantine office of chief master of the horse, equivalent to the rank of marshal and below that of grand domestic. János is János Corvinus Hunyadi.
209. At the battle of Izladi (Zlatica) on 12 December 1443 the Crusaders encountered such stiff resistance that they were compelled to turn back, continuing, however, to gain victories over the enemy during their retreat. Taeschner, CMH4: 770.
210. The Ottomans suffered a serious setback early in 1444 on the mountain of Kunovica. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 383.
211. Because of this favorable concession George Branković did not participate in the Varna Crusade. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: p. 384.
212. Doukas has utterly confused the personalities and events he describes here! He mistakenly identifies Vladislav III first with Ladislav V Posthumus and then with "the King of the Saxons." A brief discussion of the complicated affairs of Hungary at this time will be helpful to disentangle Doukas' muddled narrative.

Jagiello (Vladislav II), king of Poland, died on 31 May 1434, aged eighty-six. He had defeated the Teutonic Order of Knights in the battle of Tannenberg in 1410. He was succeeded by the eldest son of his fourth wife, Vladislav III who was ten years old. Since he was too young to govern, a regency was appointed consisting of the nobility of Lesser Poland, the Tenczynski and Olésnicki families with Zbigniew, bishop of Krakow, at their head. Although crowned in 1434, Vladislav III did not take over the reins of government until 1439 when he was fifteen.

With the death of Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor, a majority of the Magyar nobles offered the crown of Hungary to Vladislav III of Poland. Civil war followed because four months after King Albert of Hapsburg's death, his posthumous son was born in February 1440. Albert's widow, Elizabeth, was Sigismund's daughter and she placed her infant son, Ladislav V Posthumus under the guardianship of his uncle, the German king Frederick III of Styria. On 14 May 1440 Ladislav V was crowned king of Hungary by the Hapsburg party by legitimate inheritance. The Jagello party, on the other hand, raised Vladislav III of Poland to the throne of Hungary by election. It was only when the latter was killed at Varna in 1444 that

the Magyar Diet acknowledged Ladislas V Posthumus as king of Hungary. Frederick III refused to turn the boy over because he was also heir of Bohemia and Austria. The Magyars proceeded to exclude Frederick from Hungarian affairs and made János Hunyadi regent and governor of Hungary. In 1446 Hunyadi invaded Austria but the German king stubbornly clung to his guardianship. Finally, Frederick III was compelled to hand over the young king when Ulrich of Cilli, Ladislas' cousin, led a revolt of the Austrian estates against him. In 1453 Ladislas V was crowned king of Hungary and received the crown of Bohemia at Prague, where he died of the plague on 23 November 1457.

The Poles presumed Vladislav III to be alive after the catastrophe of Varna and as a result an interregnum followed (1444–1447). Finally, Casimir IV (1447–1492), Vladislav's younger brother, was elected the new king of Poland. See the following articles in CMH8: Alexander Bruce-Boswell, "Poland and Lithuania in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," pp. 576–77; Kamil Krofta, "Bohemia in the Fifteenth Century," pp. 90–95; R.G.D. Laffan, "The Empire in the Fifteenth Century," pp. 136–37, 145–46; Bálint Hóman, "Hungary, 1301–1490," pp. 607–11.

Doukas' many errors may be summarized as follows: In 1444 when the Treaty of Szegedin was signed, Ladislas V Posthumus was four years old while Vladislav III was twenty. The treaty was not negotiated between the Turks and "the King of the Saxons," that is, Frederick III as guardian of Ladislas V, but with Vladislav III as king of Hungary and Poland. Doukas later mistakenly refers to Vladislav III in the battle of Varna as "the Saxon King"!

213. The Ottomans may have looked askance at the Union Of Ferrara-Florence in 1439 between the two churches because they feared possible military aid to Byzantium, but the real danger came from Hungary. János Corvinus Hunyadi, the voivode of Transylvania, won brilliant victories over the Turks in Serbia and Vlachia. Vladislav III, the Jagellon King of Poland and Hungary, together with Hunyadi and the dispossessed despot of Serbia, George Brancović, led an army of 25,000 troops. The Crusaders began their offensive in 1443; they defeated the Turkish governor of Rumelia at Niš and then took Sofia. In early 1444 the Crusaders inflicted a severe defeat on the Ottomans on the mountain of Kunovica. The Ottomans were now on the defensive. George Kastriotes, the Captain of Albania, heroically led a revolt against superior Ottoman forces to the admiration of his neighbors. At the same time in Greece, Constantine, the joint despot of Mistra, who had repaired the demolished Hexamilion wall on the Isthmus of Corinth, occupied both Athens and Thebes. Even the Latin duke of Athens, Nerio II Acciajuoli (1435–1439?; 1441–1451), hitherto vassal of the sultan, recognized Constantine as his lord and paid him tribute.

The successes of the Christians convinced Murad II to come to terms with his opponents in June 1444. George Brancović and János

Hunyadi, as representatives of King Vladislav, came to Adrianople and on 12 June 1444 agreed to a favorable armistice for ten years. A Turkish embassy then accompanied the Christian envoys to Szegedin for Vladislav to confirm the treaty on oath. Whether Vladislav, king of Poland-Hungary, actually signed the Treaty of Szegedin on 15 July 1444 has not been definitively resolved by historians. The traditional view is that Vladislav did so with the approval of Hunyadi and Brancović but without the knowledge of Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini. Thus, not only was a peace of ten years confirmed between Hungary and Murad II but Hungary also retained Vlachia, Serbia was restored to Brancović, and Murad II held Bulgaria. The papacy, however, was disappointed at this turn of events because it seemed that the Turks might be driven completely out of the Balkans. Consequently, Cardinal Cesarini absolved Vladislav from his oath with an infidel and the Crusaders began a new campaign in September, although significantly weakened because George Brancović by the terms of the treaty had secured his return to Serbia. Oscar Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York, 1943), pp. 67 ff., contends, however, that the Treaty of Szegedin is only a legend and that the young Vladislav was not guilty of breaking his oath. Ostrogorsky rejects Halecki's view and accepts rather the proofs of F. Pall supporting the historical reality of the treaty. See Ostrogorsky, CMH4: pp. 383-84; Ostrogorsky, HBS, p. 503nl. Ostrogorsky rejects Halecki's thesis as being counter to all contemporary sources such as Doukas. See also F. Pall, "Autour de la croisade de Varna: la question de la Paix de Szeged et sa rupture," *Bulletin histoire de l' Academie Roumaine* 22 (1941): 144 ff.; Pall, Un moment décisif de l'histoire du Sud-Est européen: la croisade de Varna," *Balkanica* 7 (1944): 102 ff.; F. Babinger, "Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna," *Oriens* 3 (1950): 229 ff. See Gill, *The Council of Florence*, p. 332, for a summary of diverse interpretations.

214. Mehmed II's older brother, Ala ed-Din, was mysteriously murdered at Amaseia in 1443. Runciman, FC, p. 55 .
215. Actually, Murad II abdicated in favor of Mehmed II after his victory at Varna. He went to Magnesia (Manisa) sometime in December 1444 or January 1445. In 1444 Mehmed II was only twelve years old. Taeschner, CMH4: 771.
216. Saruja Pasha was an assistant vizier to Halil Pasha. Runciman, FC, p. 58.
217. Murad II met the Christian army near Varna in Bulgaria, near the Black Sea coast, on 10 November 1444. Both King Vladislav and Cardinal Cesarini fell and the Crusaders were annihilated. John VIII Palaiologos sent congratulations and presents to the sultan. Ostrogorsky, CMH4: 384.
218. Halil Pasha was concerned because the Janissaries were causing the young Mehmed II difficulties; moreover, both Constantine Palaiologos, despot of Mistra in the Peloponnesos, and János Hunyadi were

- active militarily. In August 1446 Murad II was once again sultan and Mehmed II was sent to Magnesia. Taeschner, CMH4: 771.
219. The Battle of Kossovo was fought on 17-19 October 1448. Murad II consequently won control over the Balkans. Taeschner, CMH4: 772. Doukas describes the battle as taking place in one night and early morning. Nicol, LC, p. 383, says that the battle raged for three days (17-20 October).
220. The Hexamilion wall of the Isthmus of Corinth fell to Murad II and his cannon on 10 December 1446. Constantine Palaiologos and his brother Thomas managed to escape but they were forced to become Murad's vassals and to pay him tribute. The Turks, however, were unable to take Patras and Glarentza, the port of Elis in the Peloponnesos. Nicol, LC, p. 382.
221. Constantine's younger brother, the anti-Latin Demetrios who, in 1442, called on the Turks to help him take Constantinople from John VIII, claimed the throne, but the aged Empress Mother Helena Dragaš threw her support to her eldest surviving son Constantine. Nicol, LC, pp. 377, 390. The two officials who were sent to Mistra with the imperial crown and regalia were Alexios Laskaris Philanthropinos and Manuel Palaiologos Iagros. Constantine was crowned in the cathedral of St. Demetrios in Mistra on 16 January 1449 by the local metropolitan. He arrived in Constantinople on 12 March 1449, brought there in Catalan galleys. See *Sphrantzes*, CSHB, pp. 204-6; *Chalkokondyles*, pp. 373-74; Runciman, FC, p. 52.
222. In 1450 Mehmed was married to Sitt Khatun, the daughter of the wealthy Turkoman prince, Sulayman Dhu'l-Kadroglu (Zulkariye or Dulgadirlu), lord of Malatya. Despite the elaborate nuptials Mehmed ignored and neglected the bride imposed on him. Runciman, FC, p. 57. A portrait of Sitt Khatun, painted by a Greek artist, survives in a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography* sent to the sultan by his brother-in-law Malik Arslan (1454-1465). Vryonis, DMH, p. 237 n566. See also F. Babinger, "Mehmed's II. Heirat mit Sitt Chatun (1449)," *Der Islam* 29 (1950): 230-31, and plate 7 for her portrait.
223. Kara Yusuf was khan of the horde of the Black Sheep (Kara-Koyunlu) (1388-1420). Nicol, BF, p. 170n21.
224. Murad II died in February 1451 from a fit of apoplexy near Adrianople. He was forty-nine years old.
225. The date was 18 February 1451. See Runciman, FC, pp. 58, 212. Murad II's successor was Mehmed II, his third son who was born on 30 March 1432 in Adrianople, and was nineteen years old. He had a mixture of Turkish, Slav, Byzantine, Latin, Persian, and probably Arab blood in his veins. Babinger, ME, pp. 8-9; for a French translation, see: *Mahomet II Le Conquérant et son Temps 1432-1481*, trans. H.E. del Medico (Paris, 1954).
226. Runciman, FC, pp. 57-58, 61, gives the following list of officials: Mehmed II confirmed Halil Pasha as grand vizier; Ishak Pasha, Murad II's second vizier, governor of Anatolia; Zaganos Pasha, Saruja Pasha, and Shahin (Siachin), assistant viziers; Zaganos Pasha, later second

- vizier. Doukas makes no mention of Zaganos Pasha and Saruja Pasha in this context. He cites Ibrahim, but Runciman does not.
227. Grumel, Ch, p. 386 gives the date for the death of Murad II as 8 February 1451. Taeschner, CMH4: 772, gives the date as 3 February; Runciman, FC, p. 57, cites the date as 13 February.
 228. Mehmed II's mother was the slave girl Huma Hatun. Babinger, ME, pp. 8, 62; Runciman, FC, p. 55.
 229. Hadije, the daughter of the Isfendiyar oğlu, Ibrahim Beg. The family was known as the Jandarids (the Djandarogullari), taking its name from a certain Jandar. By 1314 Jandar's son, Sulayman Pasha, was master of Kastamonu, the seat of the Turkoman dynasty of the Isfendiyarids in the 14th century. Sometime after 1324 Sulayman Pasha captured Sinope from the Pervane and Sinope was later incorporated into the Jandarid state. See Cahen, PT, pp. 311-13; Vryonis, DMH, p. 138n280; Runciman, FC, pp. 57-58.
 230. Orchan, Mehmed II's distant cousin and grandson of Sultan Sulayman, was the only possible contender to the Ottoman throne. At this time he was in exile in Constantinople. Runciman, FC, pp. 55-56, 60-61; Nicol, LC, p. 395.
 231. The pact was signed on 20 September 1451. Runciman, FC, p. 60.
 232. This was Ibrahim Beg, the Karaman oğlu, who instigated a mutual revolt of the Germiyan, Aydin, and Mentеше emirates against the Ottomans. Runciman, FC, p. 64; Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 188.
 233. Doukas is confused here. The fortress of Anadolu Hisar was built by Bayazid I on the Asiatic side of the narrows of the Bosphoros in 1396 and not by Mehmed II's grandfather, Mehmed I. Doukas says below that the fortress was built by Mehmed's father, Murad II. Barker, MP, p. 142n29. Bayazid would hardly have asked Manuel's permission to construct Anadolu Hisar!
 234. Baš-kesen ("head-cutter") or Bogaz-kesen ("neck-cutter") has the meaning of the cutter of the channel or the straits. The fortress is now known as Rumeli Hisar. Construction began on 15 April and was completed on 31 August 1452. Runciman, FC, p. 66. Rumeli Hisar consisted of 14 towers, 5 of which were covered with lead. The fortress was defended by cannon both from the beach and from the walls. Mehmed sailed from Gallipoli with 6 galleys, 18 *fustae*, and 16 *parandaria*. Barbaro, DS, p. 9.
 235. A fortress on the shore of the Sea of Marmara near the city of Selymbria, built by Alexios Apokavkos sometime before the eruption of the civil war of 1341-1347 as a refuge in case of emergency. Nicol, LC, p. 193.
 236. The Byzantine ambassadors were actually imprisoned and decapitated. Runciman, FC, pp. 66, 213, says that this act was "virtually a declaration of war." However, in January 1453, after being harangued by Mehmed II, his ministers voted for war. Runciman, FC, p. 74.
 237. In the 15th century the following types of ships plied the seas:

1. *Trireme*: The benches were not in tiers, one above the other as in ancient ships, but on one level. Three rowers sat in each row, each holding a single short oar of equal size and on its own thole-pin; the three oars, however, projected through one rowlock port. The rows were positioned at a slightly oblique angle to the side of the ship. The ship was a long and fast vessel with two masts; the sails were used when the winds allowed, but it depended mainly on the oars for propulsion. A central gangway called the *histodoké* ran down the middle of the trireme. Although its primary function was to rest the mast, an officer passed to and fro along the gangway keeping time for the rowers. There were three men on each side or six men nearly abreast throughout the ship's length.

2. *Bireme*: A smaller ship, had one mast and the rowers sat in pairs on either side.

3. *Fusta*: A long, swift boat, lighter than the bireme. Single rowers sat on each side of the *histodoké* forward of the mast; behind the central mast to the stern sat pairs of rowers on either side.

4. *Parandaria*: Heavy sailing barges used for transport.

5. *Galley*: A large warship propelled by a single bank of long oars, usually twelve, on each side. It was higher out of the water than the trireme which lay low in the water. See Pears, DGE, pp. 234-35; Runciman, FC, pp. 75, 215.

238. His name was Urban. Pears says that Urban was either a Hungarian or a Vlach cannon founder. Pears, DGE, p. 231.

239. Michael Kritovoulos describes the construction of this cannon. The cannon's barrel was 40 spans or 26.8 feet long and 8 inches thick. Its bore, throughout half its length, was 30 inches in diameter, while the bore of the other half, which held the powder, was 10 inches. The stone balls weighing 1200 pounds which were shot out of such a cannon measured some 11 spans or 7.4 feet in circumference. See Pears, DGE, p. 246; Runciman, FC, p. 78.

Pears, DGE, p. 245, also notes that in the siege of Constantinople the cannon did considerable damage to the walls but an accident resulted in Urban's death. Urban's cannon, however, was only one of many. Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion 1400-1700* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), p. 94, in contradiction of what Doukas says below about the continued use of the cannon, observes that on the second day of use the cannon cracked and on the fourth or fifth day it was no longer usable. According to Barbaro, DS, p. 30, the Turks positioned their cannon in four places: 3 were placed near the palace of Blachernai, 3 near the Pegé Gate, 2 at the Charisios (called Cressu by Barbaro) Gate, and 4 at the Gate of St. Romanos. Urban's cannon was one of the four planted at the Gate of St. Romanos. It fired a ball weighing 1200 pounds while a second

cannon shot a ball weighing 800 pounds; the others threw balls of much lighter weight ranging from 500 to less than 200 pounds. Cipolla, pp. 21-27, 93-94, also makes the following observations about the significance of cannon and cannon making which led to world domination by the West until modern times. Cannon was first developed in western Europe by the third decade of the 14th century. The skill acquired by craftsmen in casting bronze church bells led to the technique of casting bronze cannon. Bronze, although at the time more expensive, was preferable to iron because it is less subject to corrosion and allows for the manufacture of muzzle-loaders, thus avoiding the dangers connected with breech blocks and obturation. By the middle of the 15th century, however, emphasis was placed on size, and huge bombards of wrought iron were manufactured. These monstrous cannon were moved only with great difficulty; they were, moreover, difficult to aim with accuracy and were reloaded with great loss of time. They were most effective in siege operations when discharged against walls. Urban, a skilled gun-founder, produced his monstrous cannon of hooped iron—although Doukas speaks of bronze. It was the largest gun ever built but, says Cipolla, it was a failure since it cracked and became unusable. Doukas, on the other hand, describes how Urban prevented the cracking of the cannon. Cipolla emphasizes that Urban was a Westerner thus signifying that western technology was beginning to outstrip the East. He also notes that the Turks never got over their obsession for huge guns although the West was resorting to smaller and more efficient weapons, making the expensive, cumbersome, and awkward big guns obsolete. It was, moreover, the West's technological superiority in cannon making that led subsequently to the decline of the Ottoman Turks both on land and sea. Thus the Portuguese were able to defeat the Muslim fleets in the Indian Ocean and to retain control of the sea route to India and China while the Turks were thrown back at Vienna.

240. Antonio Rizzo's ship, loaded with foodstuffs for Constantinople, was sunk by the first cannon shot fired from Rumeli Hisar on 26 November 1452. Barbaro, DS, p. 10.
241. *Chronicles* 29:14, "for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee." See also Greek Orthodox Divine Liturgy, "Thine own of thine own we offer Thee. . . ."
242. See R. Guiland, "Les Appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople," BS 14: 226-44.
243. Gregory III Mammas, erstwhile father confessor of John VIII and staunch supporter of the emperor's policy of Union with Rome, became patriarch of Constantinople in 1443. Following the Turkish victories at Varna in 1444 and Kossovo on 19 October 1448, Jonah, the metropolitan of Moscow, in order to save Orthodoxy and guard the faith, proclaimed the Church of Russia autocephalous. Patriarch Gregory III Mammas, who had alienated the anti-Unionists, was dethroned and fled to Rome in August 1451. He died in 1459. Not

only was it impossible to elect a successor but the Union of Ferrara-Florence in 1439 was also denounced in the Church synod of 1450-1451. M. Şesan, "La Chute de Constantinople et les peuples orthodoxes," BS 14: 275. See also Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 187; Turner, "The Career of George-Gennadius Scholarius," B 39: 434.

244. A Genoese colony in the Black Sea.

245. Runciman, FC, p. 69, gives the date of Isidore's arrival at Constantinople as 26 October while Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 191, agrees with Doukas. Three large Venetian cargo galleys, under the command of Aluvixe Diedo and escorted by 2 light Venetian galleys under the command of Cabriel Trivixan, came to Constantinople from Tana. Several days later the Genoese ship carrying Isidore, the cardinal of Russia, arrived with 200 men including gunners and crossbowmen. From Candia in Crete came 8 ships loaded with malmsey and vital provisions. On 10 November 1452 2 galleys from Kaffa under the command of Jeruolemo Moroxini, despite losses and damage sustained from the barrage they met as they passed Rumeli Hisar, arrived safely at the capital. A Venetian galley under the command of Giacomo Coco the elder, sailing from Trebizond, narrowly escaped destruction at Rumeli Hisar and arrived at Constantinople on 4 December 1452. On 26 February 1453 7 ships sailed from Constantinople evading the Turkish fleet. One returned to Venice under the command of Piero Davanzo and the other 6, loaded with cloth, returned to Candia. Barbaro, DS, pp. 10-12, 22.

246. Following Isidore's arrival in the capital a series of discussions took place in the Xylalas Palace on the topic of implementing the Union. Committees representing the people (in favor of the Union) and the nobles were appointed. Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 191-92; Runciman, FC, pp. 69-71.

247. Doukas, who advocated Union with the Church of Rome, calls the *anthenotikoi*, the anti-Unionist party of Orthodox Christians, schismatics because they rejected the patriarchal jurisdiction of their own patriarch, Gregory III Mammas, and papal supremacy subscribed to in the Council of Union at Ferrara-Florence in 1439.

248. George Scholarios, by now an ardent anti-Unionist, was doubly odious to Emperor Constantine XI because he had also actively agitated against his accession to the Byzantine throne by supporting Constantine's brother, the anti-Unionist Demetrios. Consequently, Constantine banished him from the court and the embittered Scholarios retired to the Monastery of Charseianeites and took the monastic name of Gennadios. The Unionist palace officials, dismayed by his unbending opposition, threatened his life. Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 181, 187, 191.

In the dark days before the Fall Scholarios was combatting two trends which had taken root in the Greek territories: the revival of paganism at Mistra, promoted by the remarkable George Gemistos Plethon, and the Unionist court of John VIII and Constantine XI. According to Doukas, Scholarios evidently moved to the Pantokrator

- monastery where he posted his manifesto of 1 November 1452. Scholarios published a second manifesto addressed to the citizens of the capital in late November. On 25 December, almost two weeks after the Liturgy of Union of 12 December 1452, he attacked the Unionists in a letter to Demetrios Palaiologos, and in January 1453 he published a *Lamentation*. See Turner, B39: 435-36, 441.
249. *Antidoron* (literally, "instead of the Gift [of Holy Communion]") is not the host of Holy Communion but the bread of oblation from which the host has been removed; it is blessed during the Divine Liturgy and given to those worshipers who had not received Holy Communion at the conclusion of the services.
250. Qaraja Beg was the military governor of the European provinces. Runciman, FC, p. 74.
251. The contention that sacraments are not valid if performed and administered by errant clerics was first set forth by the Donatists of North Africa in the 4th century. It was repeated thereafter by diverse sects and factions. The Church wisely separated the validity of church sacraments from the moral and doctrinal integrity of the ministrant.
252. In the course of the Middle Ages Byzantine and Latin liturgical practices diverged; see note 205. The Greek Liturgy also prescribes the addition of heated water, symbolizing the Holy Spirit and the fervency of faith, to the wine in the chalice.
253. Leonard of Chios, the Latin archbishop of Mitylene, also disparages Neophytos, stating that he misappropriated monies badly needed for the repair of the walls. Neophytos, an anti-Unionist monk, who was living at this time in the Monastery of Charseianeites, could hardly have intercepted a building contract. Leonard of Chios, moreover, was not above libeling his enemies. Runciman, FC, pp. 92, 218.
254. The Greek term for the whole week beginning with Easter Sunday is *Diakainisimos*, meaning "renewal" or "new life." All of Easter week, in fact, is the mystical eighth day of the Lord's Resurrection, the day of a new creation, transforming Adam into Christ, and ushering man into God's eternal kingdom.
255. Doukas uses the biblical imagery of the Old Testament equating Mehmed II with Nebuchadnezzar and Jerusalem with Constantinople.
256. Runciman, FC, pp. 86-87, gives the following sequence of troop movements. Easter Sunday was 1 April 1453. On Monday 2 April 1453, the first Turkish detachments came into sight; on Thursday 5 April, Mehmed II and his forces were outside the walls of Constantinople; on Friday 6 April, the Turkish troops moved closer and took their final positions. Barbaro, DS, p. 27, states that Mehmed encamped about two and a half miles outside Constantinople on 5 April 1453, one hour after daybreak with 160,000 men.
257. Esaias 29:14-15; 30:1. Doukas, when citing passages from the Old Testament, quotes from the Septuagint, the official version of the Greek Church, a version which differs from the King James Version. I

have used: *The Septuagint Version of the Greek Old Testament and Apocrypha*, trans. Launcelot Lee Brenton (London, 1794).

258. The Neoplatonist Demetrios Kydones of Thessaloniki, an opponent of hesychasm and one of the most prolific scholars of the 14th century, translated the works of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, and the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Gennadios Scholarios opposed Kydones' conviction that the Byzantines must unite with the Latin West in the struggle against the Turks. The fact that he openly admired the significant contributions of western scholars in philosophical studies and his eventual conversion to the Latin Church caused deep consternation in Orthodox theological circles. See Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 99-100; Ostrogorsky, HBS, pp. 473-74.
259. Grand Duke Loukas Notaras was second in power in Constantinople to the emperor whose accession to the throne he had supported. Both Manuel II and John VIII were much impressed by his pragmatism and intelligence. In fact, he seems to have shaped the empire's foreign relations during the last years of John VIII's reign. Although Notaras was a leading anti-Unionist, his position was not as inflexible as his enemies—Unionists like Doukas—have made it out to be. Scholarios esteemed him greatly and faults him only for being willing to "proclaim in our churches that the Pope does not err but that we are still Orthodox, even though we believe precisely the opposite of that which the Pope believes and could never believe otherwise." There was, in other words, a conciliatory and opportunist splinter group among the anti-Unionists. Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 192-93 and nn29, 30, 32, and esp. 33 where Notaras is quoted, "You labor in vain, father; for it happens that the Pope must be mentioned by the Orthodox Church, and it cannot be otherwise." Scholarios, in fact, found the grand duke "unsound" in his theological position as late as 1451-1452. Gill, PC, p. 123.
260. Esaias 39:5-7.
261. Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1267 assigned to the Genoese quarters in Galata, the suburb of Constantinople on the Golden Horn. Galata subsequently became such a flourishing Genoese trading community that it was the proverbial tail that wagged the dog. By the middle of the 14th century the annual customs receipts of Constantinople were a paltry 30,000 *hyperpyra* compared to the 200,000 *hyperpyra* being collected by the Genoese of Galata. See Ostrogorsky, HBS, p. 363.
262. A famous Genoese military leader who arrived in Constantinople on 29 January 1453 with 700 soldiers, 400 from Genoa and 300 from Chios and Rhodes. Runciman, FC, pp. 83-84. Barbaro, DS, p. 22, states that Giustiniani arrived in the capital on 26 January 1453 with 2 ships and 800 men. He was provided with a long galley, appointed captain of the land forces, and given charge of the land walls.
263. The numbers of defenders and forces brought up by Mehmed II for the final assault against Constantinople vary with each author.

- Sphrantzes, CSHB, p. 241, cites the number of defenders as 4983 Greeks and slightly under 2000 foreigners. Jacobo Tetaldi (Jacques Edaldy), *Information envoyées tant par Francisco de Franc à Mgr. le Cardinal d' Avignon, que par Jehan Blanchin et Jacques Edaldy, marchand florentin, de la prise de Constantinople, à laquelle le dit Jacques estoit personnellement*, in Marténe and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, I (1717), col. 1820, says that the defenders numbered not more than 7,000. Leonard of Chios, PG 159, col. 933, estimates there were 6000 Greeks and 3000 Italians, probably including those in Pera. Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 193, cites the number of defenders as 8000 Greeks and 2000 foreigners, making 10,000. Sphrantzes CSHB, p. 240, numbers the Turks at 258,000 while Doukas raises the number to 400,000. Babinger, ME, p. 91, believes there were more than 80,000. The total population of Constantinople, according to Runciman, FC, p. 217, was somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000. C. Paparrhegopoulos, *History of the Greek Nation* (in Greek) (Athens, 1925), 5: 378, cites the number of captive Greeks as 60,000 and estimates the total population of the capital before the Fall as somewhere between 70,000 and 80,000.
264. The estimate of the size of Mehmed II's armada is highly exaggerated by the Byzantine historians. Runciman, FC, pp. 75-76, lists 6 triremes, 10 biremes, 15 galleys, 75 *fustae*, 20 *parandaria*, and a number of sloops and cutters. Barbaro, DS, p. 31, relates that on 12 April 1453, a Turkish fleet of 145 ships among which were 12 fully equipped galleys, 70-80 large *fustae*, 20-25 *parandaria*, and the rest *bregantini* or pirate ships, anchored at the Double Columns, two miles from the capital on the Black Sea side. One of these ships came from Sinopolis with a cargo of cannon balls. The Turks yelled and sounded their castanets and tambourines to frighten the inhabitants.
265. On 2 April 1453 the emperor ordered Bartolamio Soligo to stretch the boom across the harbor from Constantinople to Pera, thus closing the Golden Horn to the Turkish fleet. The boom was made of huge round pieces of wood joined together with large iron nails and thick iron links. The ends were protected inside the walls of Constantinople and Galata. To defend the Golden Horn 10 well-armed ships were placed outside and along the boom. Five were Genoese, 3 were from Candia in Crete, 1 was from Ancona, and 1 belonged to the emperor. Inside the boom were 17 square-rigged ships. Among these were 3 great galleys of Aluvixe Diedo, 2 light galleys of Cabriel Trivixan, and 5 unarmed ships of the emperor. Barbaro, DS, pp. 24-25, 29-30.
266. Runciman, FC, pp. 81, 217, gives the number of Genoese galleys dispatched by Pope Nicholas V as 3; with the imperial vessel the total number was 4. Barbaro, DS, p. 34, states that the 4 ships from Genoa sailed through the Hellespont on 20 April 1453, the day on which the naval battle took place.
267. The Turkish grand admiral was a Bulgarian apostate who had earlier been made governor of Gallipoli. Runciman, FC, p. 76. In Byzan-

- tium the rank of *Megas Konostavlos* or grand constable was a military office and sometimes denoted the officer in command of the Latin mercenaries. Nicol, LC, p. 439.
268. *Diplokionion* in Greek is a quay on the Bosphoros where now stands the Palace of Dolma Bahçe. Runciman, FC, p. 95.
269. A litra is a weight measure equivalent to one pound. The text reads that Mehmed's golden rod weighed 500 pounds; this is clearly an error. It probably weighed five pounds.
270. The term *azabs* ("Janissaries") designates celibate foot soldiers bent on plunder. Moravcsik, 2:56.
271. Runciman, FC, pp. 84-85, apart from the small craft and Genoese merchantships at Galata, gives the number of warships as 26. Of these 5 were Venetian, 5 Genoese, 3 Cretan, 1 each from Ancona, Catalonia, and Provence, and finally 10 belonged to Constantine XI.
272. Barbaro, DS, p. 37, gives the date as 22 April 1453. Mehmed II was advised by a Christian how to accomplish this feat. Seventy-two ships, according to this account, were pulled the distance of three miles from the Double Columns to the harbor in the basin of Galata. Runciman, FC, p. 220, accepts 70 ships as given by Ashikpashazade (Derwisch Ahmed, gennant ^cAsik-Pasa-Sohn), *Von Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, extracted from *Tarih Ali Osman*, ed. and trans. R.F. Kreutel (Graz, 1959), p. 198.
273. The icon of the *Hodegetria*, the most famous portable icon in Byzantium, supposedly painted by St. Luke the Evangelist. Runciman, FC, p. 146.
274. Jeremiah 6:20-23.
275. Ladislas V Posthumus was thirteen years old when he was crowned king of Hungary in February 1453. As viceroy and captain-general, Hunyadi continued to direct the affairs of Hungary. Although the anonymous Greek author of the popular poem on the battle of Varna looks upon Hunyadi as Byzantium's last hope, calling him "a second Alexander the Great," "the anointed of God," "worthy of the imperial crown," and finally "the Emperor of the Romans," Doukas' description of the perfidious conduct of Hunyadi's envoy at the walls of Constantinople and the alleged prophecy related to Hunyadi that Constantinople must be destroyed if the misfortunes of the Christians were to come to an end, paint a contrasting picture of the hero Hunyadi. Nor should it be forgotten that the cannon founder who cast the monstrous cannon was Urban, another Hungarian. Moravcsik, "Hungary and Byzantium in the Middle Ages," CMH4:591-92. Moravcsik contends that Hunyadi may have promised Constantine to send a Hungarian army to the Thracian port of Mesembria.
276. There were several dire prophecies relating to the fall of Constantinople. Barbaro, DS, pp. 49, 56, 61, cites three such prophecies allegedly made by Constantine I. First, Constantinople would never fall until the full moon rose darkened and appeared to be only a half moon. On 22 May 1453 the moon rose one hour after sunset, but

although it should have been a full moon, it appeared to be only a moon of three days in an unclouded sky. After remaining thus for about four hours it gradually waxed full by the sixth hour of the night. The emperor and his subjects were convinced that the prophecy was about to be fulfilled. Runciman, FC, p. 222, states that the eclipse of the full moon took place on 24 May.

The second prophecy related to the statue of Constantine I on horseback standing on a column by Hagia Sophia. The first Christian emperor, his hand pointing to Anatolia, is supposed to have said: "From this direction will come the one who will undo me." The third was that Constantinople would fall under another Constantine who, like himself, would be the son of a mother whose name would be Helena.

277. Barbaro, DS, pp. 50, 60, evidently had little regard for the Greek defenders. He says that 300 foreign troops were stationed at the damaged Gate of St. Romanos with cannon, guns, and crossbows because the Greeks were cowards. He blames the greed of the Greeks for the delay in carrying seven cartloads of mantelets to the walls for the protection of the defenders, and the delay was because the Greeks demanded payment for their services.
278. Jacomo Coco, master of the galley from Trebizond, was given command of the mission to set fire to the Turkish fleet. He packed sacks of cotton and wool around two ships to protect them from gunfire. These were to be escorted by two large galleys and three *fustae*; each ship armed one of its large boats. The attack was planned for midnight 24 April 1453 but the Genoese asked for a delay in order to join forces. In the morning, however, a certain Faiuzo was dispatched to the sultan betraying the Venetians. Mehmed II sent cannon to defend his ships and to take the Christians by surprise. The Venetian Barbaro calls the Genoese rebels and enemies of the Christian faith. The two galleys were commanded by Cabriel Trivixan and Zacaria Groni. The three *fustae* of twenty-four banks each were under the command of Silvestrio Trivixan, Jeruolemo Morexini, and Jacomo Coco. A number of *bregantini* carried pitch, brushwood, and gunpowder to be set on fire amidst the Turkish fleet. Jacomo Coco's *fusta* was sunk by cannon, and he, seventeen nobles, and seventy-two oarsmen were lost. The plan aborted. The date was 28 April 1453, two hours before daybreak. Barbaro, DS, pp. 39-42.
279. Doukas says that the Genoese merchantship was sunk the next day following the attempt to set fire to the Turkish ships. Runciman, FC, p. 116, gives the date as 5 May 1453.
280. Runciman, FC, p. 111, says that the pontoon bridge, built across the harbor just above the city walls, was "constructed of about a hundred wine barrels." Surely he has misread Doukas' more plausible account which clearly states that over a thousand wine casks were used. Barbaro, DS, p. 53, describes the pontoon bridge as made of large barrels bound together with long beams, tightly fastened, laid

- across them. He gives the date as 19 May 1453 and adds that the bridge was never used because the Turks did not need it.
281. The campfires, two at each tent, were lit on 26 May 1453, an hour after sunset and burned until midnight; this was repeated the next two nights. Barbaro, DS, pp. 58-59, 61.
282. This sally-port was also called Xylokerkon, because it led to a wooden circus outside the city. See Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: the Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1912), pp. 89-94, the classical study on the walls; Pears, DGE, p. 342. The Kerkoporta was located at the corner of the Blachernai wall just before it joined the double Theodosian Wall. For a general discussion of the walls, see Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 194. The land walls stretched from the Sea of Marmara to the Golden Horn. The Theodosian walls built by Theodosius II (408-450) were about 3 miles long with 94 large towers and 80 smaller ones interspaced. The inner wall called the Great Wall was 32.8 to 65 feet high and 8.2 feet wide and was separated from the Outer Wall by about 58.4 feet. About 58 feet from the Outer Wall ran the moat, some 63 to 69.3 feet wide, running with a few breaks from the Sea of Marmara almost to the Golden Horn. The low wall of breastwork which surmounted the inside rim of the moat was built by Grand Duke Alexios Apokavkos in 1341. See Runciman, FC, pp. 87-91, 137, for a description of the walls and gates.
283. The order for the final assault was given about half-past one in the morning. Runciman, FC, p. 133. But Barbaro, DS, p. 62 states that the attack began three hours before daybreak on 29 May 1453.
284. Some 2000 ladders were brought to the walls on 28 May 1453. The troops were told that on the morrow they would be wealthy, selling Christians two for a ducat. Leashes would be fashioned from the beards of the Greeks to tie up the dogs of the Turks, and the wives and sons of the Greeks would become their slaves. Barbaro, DS, p. 59. The sultan's men were divided into three contingents: 50,000 Christians who were held against their will; 50,000 men of low rank and peasants; and 50,000 Janissaries in their white turbans. The Christians had to raise the ladders onto the walls. They were decimated by the defenders and then by the Turks who cut them down as they retreated. The second contingent followed and were also turned back with heavy losses. The defenders were exhausted. Now the élite Janissary corps attacked like unchained lions. Barbaro, DS, pp. 62-63.
285. Pears, DGE, p. 353, agrees with Doukas that Giustiniani's withdrawal "was an event of supreme importance. It led to the capture and decided the fate of the city, and gave the death-blow to the Eastern Empire." The Venetian Barbaro reveals his dislike of the Genoese Giustiniani when he says that he abandoned his post—without however explaining that he had been mortally wounded—and fled to his ship at the boom while crying out that the Turks had entered the city. Barbaro accuses Giustiniani of lying in his teeth. The result was

that the defenders, in panic, abandoned their posts and rushed to the harbor to escape. Barbaro, DS, p. 65. The second fortuitous event leading to the fall of the city, according to Doukas, was the inadvertent opening of the sally-port of Kerkopoporta.

286. Jeremias 21: 3-6 and last line of verse 7. Italicized words have been interpolated into the Septuagint text by Doukas who freely omits and adds as he is moved. This is an excellent example of the ability of Byzantine scholars to quote large sections of the Bible from memory.
287. Runciman, FC, pp. 53, 93, mistakenly makes Demetrios Kantakouzenos the protostrator; during the final assault Demetrios was in charge of the southern end of the walls by the sea below the Golden Gate. Nicol, BF, pp. 192-95, demonstrates that Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos served as chief minister with his colleague Loukas Notaras for the emperors John VIII and his brother Constantine XI whose cousin he was. It was Demetrios' son who held the rank of protostrator. The protostrator was beheaded with other Byzantine nobles some five days after the Fall of Constantinople. Doukas, however, says that the protostrator had two sons who apparently were killed with their father in the final assault. This cannot be the son of Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. Does Doukas mean Theophilos Palaiologos, the emperor's cousin, fighting on the emperor's left? He shouted in despair that he would rather die than live, and disappeared into the enemy, flailing away. See Pears, DGE, p. 350; A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453* (Munich, 1938), no. 166.
288. The nuns and young women were first ravished by the Turks and sold at auction for slaves. Many, including married women, preferred to jump into wells and drown rather than be subjected to disgrace and abuse at the hands of the Turks. The slaughter was horrendous! The blood flowed through the city's streets like rain water gushing out of gutters after a torrential downpour. The corpses of Turks and Christians were floating into the Hellespont and out into the sea like so many melon rinds along a canal. Barbaro, DS, p. 67.
289. The emperor met his death in the breach on a ruined section of the Great Wall facing the Church of St. Romanos. See Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 199-200, 343 n74. Constantine XI was 49 years old when he was slain. What actually happened to the brave Emperor's corpse cannot be resolved with any certainty. The divergent views may be summarized as follows:
1. His body was never found.
 2. His corpse was buried in the Monastery of Peribleptos (Sulu Monastir) in Hysomatheia.
 3. His body was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles and then transferred to the Church of St. Theodosia when the Greek architect, Christodoulos, built the Mosque of the Conqueror on the site of the Holy Apostles.
 4. His head was kissed by Mehmed, encased in a silver vase, and

buried under the altar of Hagia Sophia. Pears, DGE, p. 354n2, mentions that the Turks in his day pointed out a place in the bema of Hagia Sophia which they claimed was the tomb of the last Christian emperor. The emperor's body, however, was allegedly buried in Galata.

5. His headless body was buried in a corner of the Imperial Palace.

6. His corpse was buried near Vefa Meidani ("Square of Death") and Vefa Tzamisi in the corner of a building owned by sandal makers and packsaddle makers under an unmarked stone and under the shadow of a weeping willow entwined with wild vines and roses. There each evening an oil lamp was lit provided by the Turkish government. Pears, DGE, p. 355n2, points out that the Turkish government never provided oil for the lamp over Constantine's alleged grave, and that in his time there was no longer a burning lamp over this grave which may have been that of a dervish.

Sphrantzes, CSHB, p. 386, describes the last moments of Constantine: "the wretched Emperor, my master, shedding tears, impo-rtuned God and exhorted the soldiers to show greatness of soul; and there was no hope of help and assistance. Digging his spurs into his horse he came to the place to which the horde of infidels were coming, and he wrought deeds like Samson among the Philistines, and in the first encounter he cast the infidels down from the walls, and those who were present saw a wondrous marvel as they looked on. Roaring like a lion and holding his unsheathed sword in his right hand, he slaughtered many of the enemy and the blood flowed like a river down his arms and legs." Sphrantzes also says that Constantine, Theophilos Palaiologos, and Don Francesco Toledo "were slain near the Gate of St. Romanos." Sphrantzes, CSHB, p. 291, who did not see the fallen emperor's corpse, records that Constantine's head could not be recognized from among the many heads that were washed. A body, however, with the imperial eagles embroidered on the socks and greaves was recovered and given to the Christians to bury with honor.

Doukas places the emperor's death some distance away, near the Charisios Gate (Egri Kapu). Kritovoulos, CSHB 1: 60, cites the portal of Justin, near the Gate of St. Romanos, as the site where the emperor fell. He describes Constantine's death as follows: "choosing to do and suffer all things for country and subjects, and although he realized clearly the imminent danger to the City and that he could save himself, he did not wish that, although there were many who pleaded with him to do so. He chose instead to die with his country and subjects—rather, to precede them in death so that he should not witness her fall and the inhabitants being either brutally slaughtered or led away into vile captivity. Because he saw the enemy pressing hard upon him and triumphantly pouring into the City through the breached wall, he cried out, it is said, these last words: 'The City is taken and shall I go on living?' And rushing headlong into the midst

of the enemy he was cut down. He was a valiant man and guardian of the commonweal, ill-starred throughout all his life and in his demise most unfortunate."

Chalkokondyles, CSHB, p. 395, relates that as soon as Giovanni Giustiniani abandoned his post, ignoring the pleas and protests of the emperor, Constantine called out to his few followers, "O men, let us attack and fall upon these barbarians." Then "Kantakouzenos fell fighting bravely. The emperor retreated and as the Janissaries came upon the scene they gave pursuit and wounded the emperor in the shoulder and he expired." Chalkokondyles, however, does not mention the spot where Constantine fell.

The Latin archbishop of Chios, Leonard, gives the following account, PG 159, cols. 940-41: "The Emperor said, 'Forward, brave men! The troops are now subduing the enemy and we shall be given the crown of victory! God is with us! Fight on! Fight on steadfastly!' Giustiniani was then mortally wounded; the defenders were crestfallen and the besiegers took new courage. 'O wretch that I am! The City is lost!' Turning to Giustiniani he cried out in anguish, 'Your flight moves others to flee. Your wound is not a mortal one. Suffer the pain and stay on as you promised.' Then to avoid capture by the enemy Constantine said: 'For God's sake, let a mighty soldier run me through with my sword so that majesty may not succumb to wicked men.' Then Theophilus Palaiologos said, 'As the City is already lost I must not go on living.' He was cut through by a battle-axe. The defenders, falling upon one another in the press to enter inside through the gate, perished. Unable to get through, the Emperor fell and rising up he fell again and as a result of the pressing throng he died. Trampling upon one another, about eight hundred of the Latin and Greek troops perished in the exodus from the gate."

Ubertino Pusculus, *Constantinopoleos libri IV*, in Ellisen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, 3 (1857): 81, gives the following account: "When the Emperor removed his helmet from his head within the tent, shutting his weary eyes (as he had not slept all that night) he stole a few moments of sleep. Awakened by a great shout, he jumped up and struggling to restrain the flight of the citizens he rebuked his companions, and he slew three Janissaries at the wall. But, mortally wounded by the sword of an enemy, he fell."

Barbaro, DS, p. 68, relates that there was a rumor that the emperor's body had been seen among the corpses; it was also stated that he had hanged himself when the Turks broke through the gate of St. Romanos. A marginal note informs us that Constantine begged his courtiers to kill him. Rushing into the fray with his sword he fought furiously, falling twice before he died.

N. Polites, *Proverbs and Traditions of the Greek People* (in Greek) (Athens, 1904), 2: 660 and n2, cites the elegy on the Fall written by an Armenian monk at the end of the 15th century in which the author claims that Constantine escaped on a Frankish ship. "When the Emperor saw the Turks entering, and as he was all alone and

without help in the battle, he decided to retreat because the wrath of God pursued him. A ship captain from the nation of the Franks received him and his accompanying nobles on board and they escaped over the seas." This recalls the comment of Sphrantzes, CSHB, p. 290: "And certain men, coming forth, said that he had fled, and others said that he was hidden in the City while still others asserted that he had died fighting."

I think it can be safely assumed that had the emperor's body actually been given to the Christians of the capital for burial with due honor, as stated by Sphrantzes, almost certainly the grave site would never have been forgotten. More important, the fact that the emperor's corpse was never recovered allowed for the mythopoeic creation of legend to inspire future generations of the Greek people.

The intolerable conviction that Constantine XI was truly dead and that with him died any hope for the liberation of the fallen Greek nation was rejected and in its stead myth and legend would emerge to proclaim a more certain reality. In the *Lamentation of Constantinople*, 2:661, cited by Paparrhegopoulos, the poet apostrophizes Constantine:

O Emperor Constantine, surnamed Dragazes,
Tell me where are you? Are you lost or hidden?
[Vv. 824-25]

Are you alive or did you die holding your sword?
O Emperor Constantine, What can one say of you?
They say that you died holding your sword.
I also heard them say that you are hidden
Under the almighty right hand of the Lord.
Better that you were alive than dead.
[Vv. 1013-17]

Poetry and myth replaced history. The heroic emperor was not slain nor did he shamefully flee the capital; instead he was miraculously saved from the jaws of death by the Lord's intervention, and he shall be hidden from the eyes of men until the day of the nation's restoration.

Legend has ingeniously placed the crypt of Constantine XI at the side of the Golden Gate through which triumphant emperors had entered Constantinople in great pomp. Further embellishing the legend, it was said that Constantine was miraculously turned into marble. An angel of the Lord will one day appear and "change him back into a living person," restore to him the sword he had used during the last battle in defense of the capital. And with this sword the revived Emperor will smite the Turks and chase them as far as Monodendrion or, as another version has it, *Kokkini Melia*, ("the Red Apple Tree"), the legendary frontier post on the Euphrates, the ancient boundary between Persia and Byzantium. Thus the legend cited by Doukas of a "poor man" who will receive the sword of the Lord from the angel's hand and chase the Turks back to Monoden-

drión was altered after the Fall to refer to the resurrected Constantine XI. The prophecies pertaining to a poor man as the savior of the Empire stem from earlier times. See *Vita S. Andrei salii, Acta Sanctorum*, Mai VI, p. 89: "In the last days the Lord God shall raise up an emperor from indigence and he shall go forth in great justice and bring an end to all war." Cf. Eccles. 9:14-15, "There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it: Now there was found in it a *poor wise man* and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that *poor man*" (my italics).

The prophecies pertaining to the poor emperor were mentioned in the *Visions of Daniel*, known since the 10th century and further elaborated on before the end of the 14th century. The poor emperor is now called *Ptocholeon* or Poor Leo. It is he who will destroy the Ismaelites and chase them back to Monodendrión. See A.A. Vasiliev, "The Last Vision of Daniel" (in Greek), in *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Petrograd, 1893), pp. 43-47. For a complete discussion of these and related problems, see Polites, *Proverbs and Traditions of the Greek People*, 2: 668-74.

290. The wife of Grand Duke Loukas Notaras may have been the daughter of Emperor John VII Palaiologos, the nephew of Manuel II Palaiologos. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, p. 90, mistakenly says that she was the daughter of the Chief Minister Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. See Runciman, FC, p. 227. Demetrios' daughter actually married Nikephoros Palaiologos. Nicol, BF, pp. 194-95.
291. Notaras' son-in-law, whose name is unknown, was the son of Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. Andronikos' sister was Eirene, the wife of George Brancović, despot of Serbia. Nicol, BF, pp. 179-81. The youngest son was named Jacob (Isaac?); he was confined in the sultan's seraglio in Adrianople from which he escaped, however, finding his way to Rome where he received refuge with both Cardinal Bessarion and Pope Pius II. Sometime between 1458 and 1464 Jacob was reunited with his sisters Anna, Theodora, and Euphrosyne who had been sent to Italy before the Fall with a substantial fortune. By 1475 Anna Notaras was a patroness of the Greek community in Venice.

Grand Duke Loukas Notaras was executed five days after the Fall, not only because he refused to deliver his youngest son to be debauched but also because the Turkish nobility were distrustful of all Byzantine officials and insisted that they be eliminated. See Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 200-1; for bibliography, p. 344n89. See also Nicol, BF, pp. 180-82n17 where the name of Notaras' youngest son is given as Isaac and his age as twelve; Doukas says that he was fourteen years old.

292. *Sympentheros* is the term used in Greek to designate the father-in-law or mother-in-law of one's child. In extension it designates any relative through marriage.

293. The *sakkos* is a special outer garment, without cuffs, worn by Greek bishops. The stole or *epitrachelion* is worn by both bishops and priests; it hangs down in front around the neck and must be worn at all church rites.
294. Despots of Mistra in the Peloponnesos were the surviving brothers of Emperor Constantine XI, Thomas and Demetrios (1449-1460); the Genoese *maona* was in control of Chios; the lord of Mitylene or Lesbos was Dorino I Gattilusio (1427-1455) but Domenico Gattilusio was regent (1449-1455); the emperor of Trebizond was John IV Komnenos (1429-1458) who paid 2000 gold coins. See Miller, ELO, p. 312; Runciman, FC, p. 168.
295. Actually this was an anagram based on the first letters of the names of the Palaiologan emperors.
M—Michael VIII
A—Andronikos II
M—Michael IX
A—Andronikos III
I—Ioannes or John V
M—Manuel II
I—Ioannes or John VIII
- Again Constantine XI is not included among the legitimate heirs of the Byzantine throne. Nor is any place given in the anagram to John VI Kantakouzenos, Andronikos IV, and John VII. The prophecy pertaining to the Komnenian dynasty cited the word AIMA as an anagram of the Komnenian emperors.
A—Alexios I Komnenos
I—Ioannes or John II
M—Manuel I
A—Alexios II
- The last Komnenian emperor, however, was Andronikos II, a first cousin of Manuel I, who had Alexios II strangled. See Niketas Choniates, *Chronicle*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, p. 220.
296. The grand master of Rhodes was Jacques de Milly (1454-1461). See Grumel, Ch. p. 402.
297. The former lessee of New Phokaia. Miller, ELO, p. 307.
298. Chios, however, remained in the hands of the Genoese syndicate, the *maona* of the Giustiniani, the forerunner of the Chartered Companies, until 1566.
299. The dominion of Dorino I Gattilusio included, besides Lesbos, Old Phokaia, Thasos, and Lemnos. He died on 30 June 1455. Miller, ELO, p. 335.
300. Domenico (Ciriaco) Gattilusio (1455-1458) was deposed by his brother Nicolò in 1458 and strangled. One account asserts that Domenico's arms were first cut off so that he would not be able to embrace his loving wife who clung to him. Miller, ELO, p. 342.
301. Mahmud Pasha was an apostate Christian. He was the son of a Serb prince and a lady of Trebizond descended from the imperial family of the Angeli. Runciman, FC, p. 95.

302. Miller, ELO, pp. 336, 338, 339.
303. That is, from the mouth of the Kaikos River. Miller, ELO, p. 336.
304. Is this Seiram-koi? See Moravcsik, 2: 186. Moravcsik has overlooked Doukas' reference to Machramion.
305. The wife of Paride Giustiniani Longo, a distinguished member of the Chian Chartered Company and podestà of New Phokaia. Miller, ELO, p. 337.
306. New Phokaia fell to the Turks on 31 October 1455. Miller, ELO, p. 337.
307. The lord of Ainos, Palamede Gattilusio, died in 1455 and was succeeded by his unscrupulous son, Dorino II Gattilusio (1455-1456). Ainos, situated on the estuary of the Maritza near Lake Jala Göl in Thrace, opposite Samothrace, was an important mart for the river and lake fisheries; its precious salt beds supplied Thrace and Macedonia, bringing into Palamede some 300,000 pieces of silver. Miller, ELO, p. 338.
308. Nicolo II Gattilusio was appointed governor of Lemnos by his brother Domenico. Miller, ELO, p. 335.
309. See the remarks of Miller, ELO, pp. 339-40.
310. The siege of Belgrade was raised in July 1456. See Dinić, CMH4: 555. Runciman, FC, p. 170, gives the month as June. Hunyadi died on the morrow of his great victory while George Brancović, a nonagenarian, was wounded in a fracas with the governor of Hungary and died on 24 December 1456.
311. Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458) dispatched the papal fleet, under the command of Cardinal Scarampi, patriarch of Aquileia, to the Aegean in the autumn of 1456.
312. The islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, and Thasos were not returned to their lawful owners, the Gattilusio family, but instead were retained by the Holy See. Miller, ELO, pp. 340-41.
313. Miller, ELO, p. 341, gives August as the month of Ismael's attack. Having suffered great losses he retired on 9 August 1457.
314. Uzun Hasan, ruler of the Akkoyunlu tribal confederation, was a Turkoman chief and lord of the White Sheep tribe (1453-1477); he was the leader of eastern Anatolia against the Ottomans. See Vryonis, DMH, p. 141; Runciman, FC, p. 173; Grumel, Ch, p. 385. The dynasty survived from the middle of the 14th century to 1508.

Uzun Hasan was the son of Ali Beg who had married the sister of John IV, emperor of Trebizond (1429-1458). Uzun Hasan subdued the lord of the Black Sheep, after which he ruled the Turkomans from his capital at Diyarbakir in Mesopotamia. His wife, Theodora of legendary beauty, was a daughter of John IV. Consequently, Uzun Hasan promised to come to Trebizond's defense in case of attack. See Nicol, LC, p. 430. Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 223, says that John IV's daughter was named Catherine.
315. The fortress by the Golden Gate twice served as a refuge and a bastion when John V had been under attack. When he attempted to strengthen its fortifications, Bayazid threatened to incarcerate and

blind his son Manuel, who was in his entourage at the time, unless the fortifications were demolished (1390-1391). See Barker, MP, p. 80. Doukas means the restoration of the fortress.

316. Doukas is telescoping events here. Mehmed II's first campaign in the Peloponnesos began on 15 May 1458. Unable to take Acrocorinth he advanced into the interior, pillaging and slaughtering as he went. In two months' time he had taken the mighty fortresses between Argos and Tripolis. Turning north he took Patras and accepted the surrender of Aigion (Vostitsa). After an absence of four months he returned to resume the siege of Acrocorinth. Asanes Matthew, brother-in-law of Demetrios Palaiologos, under cover of night gained entrance into Acrocorinth with supplies. Unfortunately, he decided to surrender instead of holding out. One-third of the Peloponnesos was given to Mehmed II and Despots Demetrios and Thomas were required to pay an annual tribute of 3000 gold pieces. Omar, the son of Turachan, the governor of Thessaly, was made governor of Turkish-held Peloponnesos. Thus was terminated the first campaign of Mehmed into the peninsula.

The despots, by quarreling between themselves for sole control of their territories, contributed to the anarchy and unrest of the Peloponnesos. In April 1460 Mehmed II set out from Adrianople and in twenty-seven days reached Corinth. Mistra fell on 29 May 1460, the anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Demetrios had offered no resistance. Next, the sultan attacked the possessions of Thomas in central and southwestern Peloponnesos. Taking Kastritsi and Gardiki he slaughtered the garrisons. Resistance melted and the Turks occupied one fortress after another. Messenia was taken. The last castle, Salmenikon in Achaia, whose commander was ironically Constantine (Graitzas) Palaiologos, capitulated in July 1461. Only Monemvasia and the Venetian colonies of Korone, Methone, and Pylos (Navarino) remained free of Turkish control. See Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 209-15; Miller, ELO, p. 106; Runciman, FC, pp. 171-72, 181-82.

In November 1460 Despot Thomas fled to Corfu and then to Italy with the head of St. Andrew the Apostle, the famous relic of Patras. In September 1464 it was returned by Pope Paul VI. Adopting Roman Catholicism, Thomas received a pension from Pope Pius II (1458-1464). His wife, Catherine Zaccaria, died in Corfu in August 1462. His four children arrived in Rome on 12 May 1465. His youngest daughter, Zoe, was married in 1466 at the age of ten to a Roman noble but was left a child-widow. In 1472 Pope Sixtus IV had her married by proxy in the Vatican to Ivan III, grand prince of Moscow and Russia. Miller, ELO, p. 106.

Mehmed II granted Demetrios the town of Ainos, Lemnos, Imbros, and parts of Thasos, and Samothrace as an appanage. In 1467 the appanage was taken from Demetrios because of some tampering with the revenues from the salt-pans, and he was sent to Didymoteichos to live in poverty. Feeling pity for him, Mehmed

- granted him an annual allowance of 50,000 silver coins. But Demetrios and his wife soon took monastic vows and in 1470 he died in a monastery in Adrianople. Although Demetrios' daughter Helena was taken into the sultan's harem, she preserved her virginity and died in Adrianople before her parents, bequeathing her precious belongings to the patriarchate. Runciman, FC, pp. 181-82.
317. *Vestiopraterion* ("garment market"). *Bezestan* means marketplace or agora. Moravcsik, 2: 249.
318. Besides the fleet Mehmed II had assembled some 60,000 cavalry and 80,000 infantry by June 1461. Nicol, LC, p. 431.
319. Lykostomion is Kellion or Chilia, the Moldavian port at the mouth of the Danube.
320. Ismail, the son of a renegade Greek, was made emir of Sinope by Mehmed II who was his brother-in-law; Ismail's son Hasan, therefore, was the sultan's nephew. Sinope surrendered in June 1461. Sinope was especially important as a port for the export of copper from the mines of its hinterland. Runciman, FC, p. 174; Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 225.
321. David Komnenos (1458-1461); Alexios IV Komnenos (1412-1429); John IV Komnenos (1429-1458). See Grumel, Ch, p. 372. David Komnenos capitulated about 15 August 1461. For a discussion of these events, see W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), pp. 100-5; E. Janssens, *Trébizonde en Colchide* (Brussels, 1969), pp. 153-60; Vacalopoulos, OGN, pp. 221-29. David's second wife was Helena Kantakouzene, the sister of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. Their three-year-old son and sixteen-year-old daughter Anna were sent to Uzun Hasan, Helena's nephew by marriage. Her young son George became a Muslim but later escaped to Georgia where he married the king's daughter and returned to his Christian faith. Anna was given to Zaganos Pasha, and married Sina, son of Elvan Beg, after being compelled to become a Muslim. See Nicol, BF, pp. 188-90; Vacalopoulos, OGN, p. 227.
- On 1 November 1463 David Komnenos, betrayed by his false friend George Amiroutzes, and several of his children were executed in Constantinople; accounts differ whether it was six, seven, or three sons and a nephew. Mehmed II further ordered that their corpses remain uninterred. Empress Helena, another Antigone in a Greek tragedy, risked her own life by digging graves for her slaughtered family with her hands. She died a few days later in her hovel of straw, clad in sackcloth.
322. Vlad Tepeș, known as the Impaler (1456-1462). He ate his dinner sitting with his nobles within a circle of impaled Turks. Runciman, FC, p. 177; Babinger, ME, pp. 215-23.
323. Miller, ELO, p. 345, gives the date as 1 September 1462.
324. Each cannon-shot weighed more than 700 pounds. Miller, ELO, p. 346.
325. At this point an Italian version describes the final moments of the besieged. The Turkish fleet under the Greek renegade, Mahmud

Pasha, cast anchor in the harbor of St. George. The 500 soldiers defending the capital included 70 knights of Rhodes and 110 Catalan mercenaries from Chios. The six large cannon landed by the Turks, capable of shooting balls weighing more than 700 pounds apiece, settled the issue. Melanoudion was the lower castle, commanded by Luchino Gattilusio. Twenty thousand Turks finally carried Melanoudion by storm. The absence of a brave and inspiring commander led to the breakdown of morale among the defenders, who attacked the vast stores of wine and provisions instead of the enemy. Nicolò formally capitulated to Mehmed by kissing the sultan's feet and handing over the keys of the city. The victorious Turkish troops were ordered to raze the remaining houses of Melanoudion; 300 defenders were sawed asunder, thus the condition that the heads of the Franks be spared was literally but diabolically carried out. A census was taken of the citizens, who were divided between the worthless who stayed behind, those who were sold at public auction, and the remainder, some 10,000, who were transported to Constantinople. Several hundred children and the loveliest maidens were selected by Mehmed for his own pleasures. Many died from overcrowded conditions on the transports; the right ear of each corpse was cut off as evidence of death and the name was removed from the lists to obviate disputes as to ownership. Nicolò II Gattilusio, Luchino Gattilusio, and Leonardo of Chios, the Genoese archbishop of Lesbos since 1444, were taken captive to Constantinople. The two Gattilusj were imprisoned in "the tower of the French"; to save their lives they ignominiously abjured their Christian faith and were circumcised. Soon afterward Nicolò was imprisoned again, and this time strangled with a bowstring, thus suffering the same fate he had meted out to his brother Domenico. Miller, ELO, pp. 345-52; Babinger, ME, pp. 253-57.

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